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An examination of the geographic and socioeconomic spaces of ethnic groups in Toronto a core-periphery perspective

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE GEOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC SPACES OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN TORONTO: A CORE-PERIPHERY PERSPECTIVE

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT

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ABSTRACT

The main interest of this study is the urban ethnic mosaic within the context of the core-periphery concept: its historical and spatial expressions of ethnic groups in Toronto. The study will focus on the socioeconomic contrasts-- income, education and occupation-- between the major ethnic group and the subgroups. Two dimensions, those of ethnic mobility and socioeconomic characteristics, have been set up to inquire into geographic changes in ethnic groups over time and into the degree of socioeconomic polarity between the ethnic groups at one time. The basic data sources relevant to this study are both published and unpublished Canadian census data, from 1951 to 1976. It was found that the "urban ethnic mosaic" is still vertical in the sense that socioeconomic differences are closely linked to ethnicity. Also, traditional ethnic segregation in the city core tends to be perpetuated in the suburbs. Clearly the persistence of ethnic dimensions over time in a metropolitan structure reflects a complicated integration process of spatial, social and ideological elements.

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During the course of the study, several individuals provided their assistance and help. Miss Bozena in Toronto City Planning Board and Miss E. Bartley in Statistics Canada furnished part of the ethnic minority information. Chapter four of this study was primarily based on a special 1971 census data computer run. The tape was acquired for the "Central Canada Ethnicity Project" which was conducted by Dr. A. Hecht (WLU), Dr. A. Pletsch (Marburg, BRD) and Dr. L. Muller-Wille (McGill) and financed by the Volkswagen Foundation. Specific thanks must be acknowledged to Mr. R. Ellsworth of the Computing Centre (WLU) for providing access to the raw data with a workable programme.

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In spite of the contributions made by the persons mentioned, errors may still be found in the study and these shortcomings are, of course, the sole responsibility of the author.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. PROBLEM STATEMENT

The notion of Canadian society as a cultural mosaic is not new, and the concept of a bilingual, multicultural nation seems realistic. Probably the most questionable issues are still whether or not the Canadian social system is a real cultural mosaic and whether or not Canadians take pride in their composite culture, retaining and preserving various ethnic groups' heritages. In the former case, there is relatively little evidence to support the idea that Canada is a mosaic. A number of writers have suggested that , in reality, Canada is no more a mosaic than for instance the U.S. is (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 100-101; Reitz, 1980: 38-43). The extent of ethnic diversity in Canada in fact varies greatly from region to region. This means that the Canadian society is neither multicultural nor bicultural. Multiculturalism, biculturalism or uniculturalism, in practice, may occur in one province, region or area, but multiculturalism where it exists is specifically tied to urban centres which are well known for their ethnic diversity.

While some theorists might argue that enclaves of different cultures can exist side by side in big cities without experiencing assimilation or integration or without undergoing change, big cities are best described as global villages in which there occurs a substantial intermixing of race, skin colour, linguistic and religious characteristics. Metropolitan Toronto is one such global village.

Various researchers have pointed out that the Canadian society is made up of ethnic groups with marked inequalities in income, education and occupation (Porter, 1965; Richmond, 1967a and b, 1972, 1977; and Forcese, 1975). These researchers have also noted that there is a clear and persistent relationship between social class and ethnicity. The present study is primarily focused on some aspects of spatial variation as well as social difference of an urban ethnic mosaic. It is assumed that in urban society the spatial structure may determine or influence the social structure, and that the use of the core-periphery (c-p) paradigm as a directing guideline can help an author make comprehensive analysis. Thus, a c-p model, based on this geographic perspective, will be described and applied to link and to interpret both the geographic distributions and social disparities between and among ethnic groups.

But first some specific questions pertaining to this study are posed. (1) How can one identify the spatial distribution patterns between and within ethnic groups over time? (2) What are the significant relationships and processes between the main group and minority groups in a c-p spatial system? (3) To what extent do these geographic and socioeconomic divergences vary between the main group and minority groups or among the minority groups? (4) What factors enhance these c-p relations and how do these relations affect the spatial arrangement and the social mobility of certain minority groups in the urban area?

Attempts will be made to explore these questions. Firstly, through constructing a series of geographic spaces of ethnic populations over time, the spatial distributions in terms of the degree of segregation (or concentration) and integration of described ethnic groups can be recognized. Secondly, a socioeconomic space which blends ethnic population traits and socioeconomic indicators together will be created. Factors that assist generalization and comparison will be carefully investigated.

In addition, it must be stressed throughout the study that the special 1971 Toronto census data run tabulated according to planning regions was the main

data source to permit an analysis of the socioeconomic variations between and within ethnic groups. Yet the exploration of the geographic ethnic pictures through time is largely derived from published census tract data. Furthermore, the c-p concept plays either explicitly or inexplicitly a vital role throughout the study because it contributes to the understanding of the relationship between urban spatial structure and urban social structure.

2. BACKGROUND

Urban ecologists and urban sociologists have advanced our comprehension of the socioeconomic imbalance of ethnic populations and of their spatial mobility within metropolitan areas (Murdie, 1969; Darroch and Marston, 1971; Balakrishnan, 1976; Foggin and Polese, 1977; and Matwijiw, 1979). But they generally put their emphasis on the pattern present at one time, rather than on scrutinizing processes at work over time. They have also paid little attention to the dynamic processes of social integration in terms of ethnic relations within the urban realm.

Social area analysis, a major progress in the application of ecological theory and method, was

originally outlined by Shevky, Bell, and Williams (Shevky and Williams, 1949; Bell, 1953: 29-47). This analysis depends mainly on broad theoretical postulates concerning social differentiation in modern industrial societies. It is also a technique used for categorizing census tracts according to three constructs: social rank (economic status), urbanization (family status) and segregation (ethnic status). Strong criticism by subsequent scholars followed. They contended that social area had no necessary geographic or spatial relevance and that the exclusive employment of census tracts to explicate the urban structure as a whole was inadequate and too simplistic (Hawley and Duncan, 1957: 337-345). Besides, some scholars indicated that regardless of the loosely defined area problem, such broad indices as social rank, familialism, ethnicity, and urbanism were insufficient for the description and measurement of social differentiation (Timms, 1971: 123).

However, despite the somewhat arbitrary groupings of the social area typology implied by these indices, such empirical testing and consistent identification of the urban structure in most North American cities has proven social area analysis valid (Bell, 1955: 45-52; Timms, 1971: 149-151; Foggin and Polese, 1977: 5).

Further, the basic notion of or the technique modified from this analysis is still widely acknowledged and utilized continuously in the urban context. In the main, the ethnic index has been less significantly emphasized than the economic and family indices in the analysis, and its construction has been chiefly based on the U.S. situation with non-white populations, especially the blacks. Yet, the author of this study is aware that the ethnic picture in Canada might differ greatly from that in the U.S.

Murdie's factorial analysis in the 1960's has successfully built up a concept of social space, containing a set of dimensions superimposed upon the physical space of Toronto in an attempt to demonstrate the city's social geography with some notable ethnic elements at two points in time (Murdie, 1969: 8-10). Greer-Wootten, Foggin and Polese followed suit in the 1970's. Greer-Wootten has presented empirical ethnic variables in Montreal for 1951 and 1961, and Foggin and Polese for 1971. (Greer-Wootten, 1972; Foggin and Polese, 1977). However, consecutive and integrated studies which focused on both the spatial ethnic relations and contemporary social inequalities have been rare thus far.

Sociologists have proposed widespread and valuable theoretical approaches in ethnic studies (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 5-10). It appears that theories like social interaction (integration, conflict and change) and social stratification (broadly referring to social class, social status and social mobility) are most relevant and applicable to the existing c-p relations, and they seem to fit Canada's unique social-economic-political network which remains to be examined in this study. However, the common flaw of the sociological approach is that it fails to cope with the factors of space in ethnic relations (Kuklinski, 1977: 141).

The classical core-periphery paradigm is derived from the economic/political world and spread into the fields of geography and sociology. This theory was then further developed and evolved, overlapping into other theories, disciplines, and changing its character and application frequently. As a result, the c-p concept as well as the terms associated with it has been stated in various ways by different authors. In general, at the macro level, the c-p phenomenon is regarded as a multiple system of nested centres and peripheries. At the micro level, the centre is viewed as a single metropolitan area dominating its surrounding hinterland.

John Friedmann has elaborated this concept as a "general theory of polarized development" that applied to all geographic scales (Hansen, 1972: 82-101; Friedmann, 1973: 41-58). Specifically, Friedmann's theory has explicitly clarified an extensive set of processes-- economic, settlement, cultural and political-- that aided in generating regional economic disparity. Cores as well as urban agglomerations are centres of innovation, initiating and exerting economic, social and even political influence which could transform the socioeconomic structure of the spatial system and which could accelerate the polarization of the core and peripheral groups. In other words, the centripetal forces emanating from the cores enable them to keep a superior position, consequently establishing an authority-dependency relationship as they try to absorb the undeveloped and stagnant peripheries through integrating processes (Friedmann, 1973: 48-58; Wesol, 1981: 13-18).

Moreover, Friedmann's influential work has extended to provide the basis of a theory of social conflict, offering a link between Western regional development theory and Marxist thought (Brookfield, 1975: 119-123). Friedmann's non-Marixt conflict theory of social change has shown that possible outcomes of pluralism between

centre and periphery may lead to increased deviation through suppression and neutralization. It may also lead to a reduction in differences through different forms of cooperation and replacement within the system (Friedmann, 1973: 79-81; Foust, 1978: 300).

3. OBJECTIVES

The major objective of this study is to analyze the historical, spatial aspects of ethnic groups in Toronto as well as socioeconomic contrasts-- income, education, occupation and the like-- between the majority group and the minority groups. Two spatial, social dimensions, ethnic mobility and socioeconomic characteristics are set up to inquire into geographic sequential changes over time and into the degree of polarity at one time. Components and variables that precipitate the c-p variations will be inspected.

Some Canadian sociologists suggest that there is a hierarchical class structure which is related to the existence of class-based inequalities in educational and occupational opportunities (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 11). A secondary objective is to assess the actual meaning of an urban mosaic based on theory and empirical evidence. In addition, an appraisal of the melting pot

concept and multiculturalism associated with ethnicity will be made.

4. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The critical intention of this section is to mold an integrated theoretical scheme which incorporates the c-p relations, ethnicity, and sociological disciplines, and then creates a c-p model and tests for its validity in the Canadian urban kaleidoscope.

The main groundwork of the whole model is laid down as follows: (1) the relative distributions of the main and minority groups over time will reveal varying degrees of "core" and "periphery" features in the geographic dimensions; (2) the cross-profile of a geographic dimension at one time will reflect notable differences between and within ethnic groups in the socioeconomic dimension; (3) the polarizing processes essentially emanate from the "core group" so that these forces tend to absorb or to integrate the "peripheral groups" spatially, socially and economically. A number of hypotheses with respect to this foundation will evolve.

Ethnic relations in the Canadian social scene are unique because the society basically reflects the

Anglo-Saxon culture. Historically, in order to maintain social control, the dominant institutions defined and regulated social norms and moral orders-- values, status, subordination, restrictive laws and discriminatory policies-- which have shaped and legitimized the stratified social system that continuously promotes and sustains the existing inequalities in the present host society (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 208). Throughout history, the core group in terms of power and authority became the key decision-maker. It devised remarkable different ethnic entrance requirements to its society over indigenous and other social groups as well as the succeeding immigrant groups (Porter, 1965: chapter 3).

In an urban multicultural entity like Toronto, ethnic diversity is a universal phenomenon. The specific patterns of ethnic concentration in terms of spatial segregation are the cumulative effects of the social norm, traditional sanctions, and the strength of group cohesion. Nevertheless, over time, changes do occur in accordance with the spread of less polarizing processes of integration. These changes may have two expressions. First, it signifies that social integration is the unavoidable outcome; second, in modern industrial urban economy, the growth of the

pressure groups and the compatibility of economic equity through spatial integration will reduce the pressure and predominance of the majority group (Foust, 1978: 295-296).

Thus, at this stage, the first premise is that over time the main group and the minority groups will be spatially, socially, and economically integrated in the following generalized manner: (1) the higher the economic status (income and occupation), the lower the degree of segregation; (2) the higher the level of education, the lower the degree of segregation; (3) the more English is used, the less the degree of isolation.

In fact, ethnic groups are by no means homogeneous when ethnic origins and race factors (such as skin colour) are taken into account. Also, if race factors are merged with special cultural factors, the situation will be more complicated and recognized to be undesirable as Canada's immigration history indicates. Accordingly, the second premise, which mainly relies on ethnic background, skin colour, and the present stratified system, includes several hypotheses: (1) low social economic status is significantly related to ethnic origins, distinctive skin colour, levels of income and education, language other than English, and recent immigration; (2) low entrance-status ethnic

groups tend to be perpetuated in the low socioeconomic strata, reflected in lower incomes and menial occupations; (3) ethnic groups of higher socioeconomic status, especially the visible minorities, find it hard to move up the economic ladder because of limited opportunities.

These hypotheses are mostly deduced from a social standpoint which ranks ethnic groups according to relative status positions based on ethnicity and socioeconomic variations. These vertical status arrangements are directly reflected in the city's horizontal status distribution in terms of residential location. Indisputably, residential segregation or ethnic concentration becomes an important index to manifest levels of social segregation and social polarity. Thus, the final premise of the model involves two hypotheses: (1) lower-status ethnic groups tend to be geographically concentrated in certain parts of the urban area and achieve lower levels of integration; (2) ethnic groups that tend to be more mobile, and to be spatially dispersed across the urban area, are said to have attained increasing levels of integration and economic status.

5. ORGANIZATION AND METHODOLOGY

There have been a variety of studies regarding the ecology and ethnic groups in Toronto (Richmond, 1967b, 1972, 1977; Murdie, 1969, 1980; and Kalbach, 1981). Owing to the infancy of ecological study in Canada and the unique, dynamic nature of Toronto, many further and in-depth examinations are needed. As mentioned before, the aim of this study is to apply the c-p concept to analyze the geographic and the social disparities in terms of income, education and occupation between the majority and minority groups and among ethnic groups.

There is little doubt that the life of Metropolitan Toronto has been enhanced by large numbers of immigrants, particularly after World War II. A retrospect of the history of Canadian immigration as well as some discussions of the contemporary scene thus become essential. Due to the limitation and unavailability of some census material and to the rapid growth of the city in terms of boundary and definition changes, comparison and analysis are restricted to current, readily available information: the census of 1951, '61, '71 and '76 as well as the minor planning districts. Among them, the 1971 census is crucial, because it is employed as the basis for analyzing both

the geographic and socioeconomic dimensions of the city. Subsequently, attention will turn to some particular ethnic groups, namely British, French, German, Italian, Jewish, Asian, Black and native Indian.

Inquiry into causes governing the c-p contrasts requires carefully weighted and step-by-step procedures, so as to obtain penetrating and comprehensive generalizations. Details of variables-- income, education, occupation and so forth-- chosen for testing the degree of polarity have still to be worked out.

Ethnic studies are interdisciplinary, and virtually all of the social sciences-- geography, sociology, psychology, history, economics and political science-- have shared enormously in the study of ethnicity, ethnic relations and ethnic minorities. Therefore, it is advisable to limit the scope of this study. An integrated approach is thus used throughout the study. The fundamental notion of this approach is closely associated with: (1) a demographic perspective which investigates the attributes of the ethnic population-- both core and periphery-- as they affect intergroup relations and as changes in these attributes create changes in the relationships between ethnic groups; (2) an ecological perspective which analyzes ethnic relations, emphasizing the economic and social factors

controlling the intergroup relations; and (3) a socio-conflict perspective which stresses class conflict in ethnic relations and puts the subordination of minorities in the context of dominant social control (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 5-10). Needless to say, each of these approaches is incomplete. However, for practical reasons, the integrated perspective does enable one to make sense out of the great complexity of the urban setting which is at once unicultural and yet multicultural.

Furthermore, it is important to clarify the ambiguous definition of ethnic groups or ethnicity throughout the study. Because the data source is the census, the simple concept of ethnic group as an analogy of social group or grouping is then used. Such a social or ethnic category only refers to a conceptual or statistical category which may or may not conform to an actual social group (Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 87). In sociological terms, a social group, which is defined as a number of individuals who possess the same common characteristics, is usually related to its group behaviour. In the present study, ethnicity and ethnic groups are treated as the same, referring to ethnic, linguistic and religious groups or populations.

Centrographic measures and difference of mean tests are statistical tools used in this study to portray spatial distributions as well as socioeconomic variations. Delineation of the method and technique will follow. Implications of the findings for future research and comments will form the last part of the study.

In summary, this study comprises six chapters. Chapter one introduces the general problem, data sources, objectives and limitations of the study, theoretical background and organization and methodology. Chapter two provides an historical ethnic profile by examining both the immigration policies and ethnic population composition in Canada. A brief discussion of the notions of a melting pot and multiculturalism will come later. Chapters three and four are significant parts of the study. The former chapter, in which the centrographic measures are employed, will present a set of dynamic geographic dimensions which demonstrate varying degrees of spatial segregation and integration between the main group and other ethnic groups. The latter chapter reflects one cross-section of the geographic dimensions in 1971, showing marked ethnic differentials within a social space in Toronto. In chapter five, an evaluation of the urban ethnic mosaic

is first made; then the thesis identifies the empirical ethnic patterns of spatial, social and economic integration. In the last chapter, the overall findings of the study will be summarized, and comments and recommendations for future research will follow.

CHAPTER II

TORONTO'S ETHNIC POPULATION CHANGES

1. INTRODUCTION

It is an undeniable fact that Canada is a "nation of immigrants", with the exception of native people. The present ethnic diversification of Canada's population is primarily the consequence of its immigration history and its fluctuating immigration policies which have together decided the ethnic composition of immigration streams to the country.

As a result of immigration, particularly after World War II, Canada has become increasingly multi-ethnic in its population composition. According to the 1971 census, ethnic groups other than British and French contributed more than a quarter of the total population. In fact, the extent of ethnic heterogeneity in Canada is significantly associated with strong regional variation. For example, Central Canada (Ontario and Quebec) has long been the dominant region of settlement for immigrants coming to Canada (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 167-170). Specifically, urban centres where economic opportunities appear to be

plentiful have been reception areas for immigrants from different cultures. In the 1970's, the majority of immigrants admitted to Canada each year were proceeding to Ontario, and of these more than half were settling in Toronto (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 174).

It has been estimated that Toronto in the late 60's and the early 70's was receiving an annual flow of at least 40,000 immigrants per year. Officially, Metro Toronto has attracted more than one third of all post-war immigrants to Canada (Hawkins, 1972: 64; Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 193). Probably urban concentration of ethnic population is an atypical example and may not reflect the national trend. But a brief review of Canada's immigration history in terms of its ethnic population changes, to some extent will shed light on Toronto's evolving ethnic dimension which has recently made a substantial contribution to a multicultural mosaic as well as to a considerable growth of its visible minorities.

2. A RETROSPECT OF CANADA'S IMMIGRATION HISTORY

Since immigration policies established by the Canadian government have been implemented to promote or to retard the migration of specific groups of immigrants

to Canada, several ethnic migration patterns have appeared. These patterns reflect various economic and political conditions between Canada and the homelands of immigrants (Kalbach and McVey, 1979: 42-50; Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 130-158).

Overall, the immigration history as seen by Kalbach and McVey (1979) can be classified in terms of five periods and described as follows:

1) Pre-Confederation dominance (1851-1901); i.the initial establishment of charter groups in Upper Canada; ii.ethnic origins predominantly British and French.

2) Pre-World War I climax (1903-1913); i.aggressive and selective policies developed; ii.immigration actively encouraged by the opening of the agricultural frontier in the West; iii.immigrants mainly recruited from the most 'poverty-striken' countries in Northern and Central Europe; iv.an unprecedented migration peak in Canadian history.

3) Interwar years (1914-1945); i.new restrictive laws introduced; ii.the low ebb of immigrant influx due to the cumulative effects of the War and economic depressions; iii.immigrants inclined to settle in urban

areas and coming mainly from Central, Eastern and Southern Europe.

4)Post-World War II climax (1946-1961); i.increasing humanistic measures stimulating recovery of immigration boom; ii.a greater number of immigrants as well as a great diversity of national origin; iii.a swelling number of urban-oriented immigrants from Southern Europe and Asia.

5)Modern Period (1962-1976); i.gradually liberalized policies such as the "points system" instituted in 1967; ii.the demand for immigration shifted to non-European areas; iii.a tremendous increase in ethnic minorities mostly from Third World countries and regions.

By superimposing these historic immigration phases onto the ethnic groups coming to Canada, migration patterns of these groups can be best explained. Because a mosaic structure was becoming apparent by the turn of this century, emphasis will be placed firstly on general Canadian population growth, then on particular ethnic migration patterns in Canada.

For fifty years from 1851 to 1901, immigration showed an inconsistent growth of the total population

(see Table 1). The intercensal decade, from 1851 to 1861 was the only decade during which the gain through immigration was sufficiently large to compensate for losses through emigration. After 1901, two remarkable climaxes of growth were clearly seen in the pre-World War I and post-World War II periods. The former represented one of the largest migrations ever recorded in history. Over 1.7 million immigrants nearly 25% of the total population, who were farmers, labourers and domestic servants, were actively recruited by the Canadian government to help develop the agricultural potential in the West. The latter almost approached the record level of the pre-World War I peak, involving about 1.5 million immigrants. They were better educated and more city-oriented than the previous group and had skills useful to Canada (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 134). On the whole, immigration has contributed greatly to the overall growth. It is also noticed that though the proportion of immigrants has declined recently, their actual numbers in effect have continued to be substantial.

After Confederation, the French and the British were the two major constituent parts of Canada's population, making up almost 90% of the total population and declining (Table 2). The French population has

TABLE II-1

GROWTH OF THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION IN CANADA (1,000)

INTERCENSAL DECADE	TOTAL POPULATION	IMMIGRATION[a]	EMIGRATION[a]	NET[a] MIGRATION	IMMIGRATION[b] GROWTH(%)
1851-61	3,230	209-486	86-332	(123-180)	6.5
1861-71	3,689	187-266	370-436	-(150-191)	5.1
1871-81	4,325	253-353	293-440	-(40- 85)	8.2
1881-91	4,833	448-903	602-1,110	-(150-205)	23.0
1891-01	5,371	249-326	364-510	-(115-181)	9.4
1901-11	7,207	1,111-1,782	317-1,067	(715-810)	24.4
1911-21	8,788	1,373-1,592	1,067-1,380	(233-310)	18.3
1921-31	10,377	1,195-1,204	967-1,174	(103-230)	11.6
1931-41	11,507	151	240-353	-(90-202)	1.3
1941-51	14,009	548-568	370-437	(131-180)	3.9
1951-61	18,238	1,540	460	(1080)	8.4
1961-71	21,568	1,429	802	(627)	6.8
1971-80	23,809	1,312	655	(—)[c]	5.5

[a] FIGURES ESTIMATED.

[b] GROSS IMMIGRATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION.

[c] NOT AVAILABLE.

SOURCE: TABLE ADAPTED FROM KALBACH, W.E. AND McVEY, W. THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASES OF CANADIAN SOCIETY, 1979, P.46 AND ANDERSON, A.B. AND J.S. FRIDERES, ETHNICITY IN CANADA, 1981, P.135.

TABLE II-2

ETHNIC ORIGIN IN CANADA, 1901-1971 (PERCENTAGE)

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
BRITISH	57.04	55.49	55.41	51.86	49.68	47.89	43.85	44.60
FRENCH	30.71	28.61	27.91	28.22	30.27	30.83	30.38	28.70
GERMAN	5.78	5.60	3.35	4.56	4.04	4.43	5.75	6.10
ITALIAN	0.20	0.64	0.76	0.95	0.98	1.09	2.47	3.40
JEWISH	0.30	1.06	1.44	1.51	1.48	1.30	0.95	1.40
NETHERLAND	0.63	0.78	1.34	1.44	1.85	1.89	2.36	2.00
POLISH	0.12	0.47	0.61	1.40	1.45	1.57	1.77	1.50
RUSSIAN	0.37	0.61	1.14	0.85	0.73	0.65	0.65	0.30
SCANDINAVIAN	0.58	1.56	1.90	2.20	2.12	2.02	2.12	1.80
UKRAINIAN	0.10	1.05	1.21	2.17	2.66	2.82	2.59	2.70
ASIATIC	0.44	0.60	0.75	0.81	0.64	0.52	0.67	1.30
OTHERS[a] AND NOT STATED	3.75	3.53	4.18	4.03	4.10	4.99	6.44	6.30
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

[a] THIS CATEGORY INCLUDED "OTHER EUROPEAN" AND "INDIAN AND ESKIMO".

SOURCE: TABLE ADAPTED FROM ANDERSON, A.B. AND J.S. FRIDERES, ETHNICITY IN CANADA, 1981, P. 136-137.

demonstrated a very stable and consistent growth pattern to maintain its one third significant presence through natural increase until recently. After its initial migration, there was no important increase in any new French immigrants. Currently its proportion has been decreasing. In contrast, the British population has relied on immigration as well as natural increase to keep its numerical superiority and its political and cultural dominance (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 138). However, over time, its proportion has also been decreasing, but at a very much faster rate. For instance, the British made up 57% of the population in 1901; after 40 years they have begun to become a statistical minority, 49% in 1941 and only 44% in 1971 (Table 2).

It is evident, then, that with the decline of these two charter groups and the continuous increase in immigration from other countries, the entire growth of Canada's population has chiefly come from the "other" category, the non-British and non-French immigrants that made up over 25% of the total population in 1971.

The German population, which contributed prominent numbers, has been the largest non-charter group in Canada since Confederation. Generally speaking, over 70 years, from 1901 to 1971, this group has maintained a

relatively stable 4-6% of the total (Table 2); however, during wartime, their population would cease increasing steadily. In effect, a close examination of the German migration pattern revealed that there were three individual peaks that more or less coincided with the general trends mentioned previously. First, the pre-World War I immigration boom attracted a considerable number of German-speaking peasants who came from German, Mennonite and Hutterite colonies in Russia to the Prairies. Second, during the interwar period, especially from 1925 to 1930, a massive number of Germans who were educated and had technical skills entered Canada. Third, an ever-growing number of these immigrants, many more than before, arrived in Canada during the fifties and sixties (Richmond, 1967b: 28; Kalbach and McVey, 1979: 197; Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 134).

Whereas the Germans were still the largest non-charter group in Canada in 1971, the Italians and the Jews have also formed a considerable proportion of the non-charter ethnic population for several decades. Of course, the migration pattern of the two groups varied. The Jewish population grew fairly steadily from 1911 to 1971 (Table 2); two heavy immigration flows occurred in the periods from 1904-1913 and 1921-1927.

From 1951 to 1961, there was a sudden decline in the population. However, this reduction in Jewish population may be overstated due to incomplete census classification of ethnic origin.

Because most of the census groupings of ethnic background are defined by national origin, the "Jewish" category is virtually a religious designation which usually cuts across national boundaries and brings about confusion (Toronto City Planning Board, 1974: 8). Moreover, national origins and religious affiliation are not mutually exclusive. Under certain circumstances, the motivation for some people identifying themselves with a national as opposed to a religious group, is understandable. This decrease in Jewish numbers can be seen in part as the Jewish population claiming a particular national origin rather than their religious affiliation.

In 1971, the Italians were the third largest non-charter group after the Germans and the Ukrainians (Table 2). That the Italians in Canada are largely recent arrivals is verified by the census data. Prior to 1901, there were fewer than 1,000 Italian immigrants entering Canada in any single year. Their first immigration peak occurred in 1912-1913, when over 40,000 Italians arrived in Canada. Later in the 1950's the

flow increased dramatically. The second peak in 1956 brought about 30,000 Italians. From 1956 to 1961, over 150,000 Italians were admitted (Ziegler, 1972: 1-2). After 1961, increasing immigration from Italy has been going on, and it reached a third peak in 1966 but then declined subsequently. This decline was mainly due to the introduction of the "points system", which required higher levels of education and technical skills of immigrants (Kalbach and McVey, 1979: 259).

Traditionally, entry quotas of visible aliens was kept low. The non-white groups, such as the Asians and the Blacks, were insignificant in the early immigration history. Although the two visible minorities have been in Canada for a long period of time, both have had static or declining population trends. Currently, they have been growing very dramatically (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 165).

Despite the selective preferences built into immigration regulations in the past, there has been an apparent shift from the most preferred to the historically non-preferred countries or areas because of changing economic and political conditions throughout the world. To some degree, from 1960 onwards, with gradual liberalization of immigration policies, the Canadian government seems to have responded to this

trend by eliminating the discrimination against the Third World immigrants. For example, from 1966 to 1973, the proportion of Asian immigrants rose from 6% to 23%, while arrivals from Europe declined from 76% to 39%. The total inflow from these Asian sources, in fact, did not exceed the European flows until 1976 (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 161). To be sure, the impact of these Third World immigrants has been strong and crucial. At this point, a separate interpretation of these two racial groups becomes necessary.

According to the census definition, the Asian immigrant is an aggregate category, containing such groups as Chinese, Japanese and other Asians. From 1968 to 1973, the number of Japanese, as compared to the large inflows of Chinese and other Asians, was unimportant (Toronto City Planning Board, 1974: 7). The Chinese proportion of the total number of immigrants fluctuated from 1% to 3% between 1950 and 1967; a striking increase to 8% occurred in 1973. From 1968 to 1973, from Hong Kong alone, over 45,000 immigrants arrived in Canada. Additionally, a considerable number of Chinese immigrants followed from Hong Kong, China and Taiwan from 1972 to 1975 (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 162-163). Thus, the flourishing of Toronto's Chinatown as a temporary reception area as well as a job market for these new arrivals is understandable.

The populations od immigrants from India and Pakistan increased steadily from 1.8% by 1965 to 7% by 1974. It is not surprising that both Hong Kong and India have been ranked as the third and fourth major suppliers of Asian immigrants since 1973 (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 162).

The Black population is ordinarily included in the "other and not stated" category in the census. Because Negro is a racial ethnic group, problems similar to those encountered in measuring the Jewish population can be anticipated. As can be expected, the size of the Negro group has remained static for many decades. There were 17,000 Negroes in 1901 and only 22,000 in 1941 (Toronto City Planning Board, 1974: 13). However, in the 1971 census, Negro and West Indian origins were first identified, and the Black population has experienced a remarkable increase to 62,470. It is reported that almost 60% of this growth was concentrated in urban centres such as Toronto and Montreal. Over 45% of this Black population resides in Metropolitan Toronto (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 106).

3. HISTORICAL CHANGES IN TORONTO'S ETHNIC POPULATION

The multicultural dimension of ethnic diversity presently existing in Toronto is a relatively new phenomenon. The following systematic description of the city's ethnic populations depends heavily on both historical accounts and census data particularly from 1901 to 1971.

Historically, the British established and strengthened their political, economic and social dominance in Upper Canada and in Toronto as well, through both the Governor's powers of appointing key government officers and his control of land grants to settlers (Kalbach, 1980: 3). From 1901 to 1971 the population in Toronto, and later in the rapidly growing suburbs, was predominantly British. No doubt, this predominance has declined proportionately over time, as Toronto has grown and as the changing character of immigration has gradually diminished the dominant position of the British.

In 1901, Toronto's population had already exceeded 200,000 (Table 3), and the city was advancing to its metropolitan status. The first heavy immigration influx (pre-World War I) from Europe seemed to make little impact on the city's dominant population because the

TABLE II-3

SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN IN TORONTO[a] 1901-1971, PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER (1,000)

	1901	1921	1951	1961	1971
BRITISH	91.7 (191)	85.3 (445)	72.7 (812)	59.2 (958)	53.5 (1,112)
FRENCH	1.4 (3)	1.6 (8)	2.9 (32)	3.4 (55)	3.4 (72)
GERMAN	2.9 (6)	1.0 (6)	1.7 (19)	4.4 (70)	4.1 (85)
ITALIAN	0.5 (1)	1.6 (8)	2.5 (28)	8.3 (135)	12.0 (250)
JEWISH	1.5 (3)	6.6 (35)	5.3 (59)	3.4 (53)	5.1 (107)
NETHERLAND	0.4 (0.7)	0.8 (4)	1.1 (12)	1.5 (25)	1.2 (24)
POLISH	0.1 (0.1)	0.5 (2)	2.4 (27)	3.4 (55)	2.1 (44)
RUSSIAN	—[b] (—)	0.3 (1)	0.5 (6)	0.8 (14)	0.2 (4)
SCANDINAVIAN	0.1 (0.3)	0.2 (1)	0.6 (7)	0.8 (13)	0.6 (13)
UKRAINIAN	— (—)	0.2 (1)	2.6 (29)	2.7 (44)	2.5 (51)
ASIATIC	0.1 (0.2)	0.5 (3)	0.9 (10)	1.2 (20)	3.1 (66)
BLACK	0.3 (0.6)	0.2 (1)	— —	— —	1.3 (26)
NATIVE INDIAN	— —	— —	— —	— —	0.3 (6)
OTHERS AND NOT STATED	1.0 (2)	1.1 (6)	6.8 (75)	10.9 (176)	11.0 (226)
TOTAL	100.0 (208)	100.0 (522)	100.0 (1,117)	100.0 (1,619)	100.0 (2,086)

[a] FROM 1901 TO 1921, IT REFERRED TO THE CITY OF TORONTO. FROM 1951 TO 1971, IT INCLUDED THE METROPOLITAN AREA.

[b] DATA NOT AVAILABLE OR FIGURES TOO SMALL.

SOURCE: TORONTO CITY PLANNING BOARD, RESEARCH STUDIES NO.8: ETHNIC CHANGE 1951-1971, 1974, TABLE 1.

British share of the total from 1901 to 1921 was still a very high 80%. However, the second immigration climax (post-World War II) did play a key role in reducing the British population to 68% in the City in 1951. This post-war immigration resurgence in fact reduced the Anglo-Saxon majority to 51% in 1961 and only 45% in 1971, making the "dominant" group become a "minority". In Metro, the British population has also dropped from 72% to 53% over the three successive census years starting in 1951 (Table 3).

It is plain that in the past decades there has been a regular decline in British population in the City in particular and in Metro in general (see Tables 4, 5 and 6). This tendency was less marked in the suburbs, though an absolute decline in British population in the inner boroughs of York and East York did occur. However, the rapidly growing outer boroughs of Etobicoke, Scarborough and North York all reported increases, even though there were declines in relative predominance. Nevertheless, a major concentration of the British from East York to Scarborough could be recognized. Due to immigration and varying fertility rates within ethnic groups, the primary British temperament of the City has given way to a cosmopolitan, multicultural pattern.

TABLE II-4

POPULATION BY SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN 1951, PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER (1,000)

	METRO	CITY	ETOBICOKE	SCARBOROUGH	YORK	E.YORK	N.YORK
BRITISH	72.7	68.6	81.2	83.3	73.7	85.6	77.0
	812	480	69	47	81	69	66
FRENCH	2.9	3.2	3.1	2.5	1.8	2.2	2.0
	32	22	3	1	2	2	2
GERMAN	1.7	1.7	2.0	1.6	1.4	1.8	1.0
	19	12	2	1	1	1	2
ITALIAN	2.5	2.7	1.9	1.3	3.6	1.5	1.9
	29	19	2	1	4	1	2
JEWISH	5.3	6.7	0.2	0.1	8.5	0.2	3.6
	60	47	0.2	0.1	9	0.2	3
ASIATIC	0.9	1.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.3
	9	8	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.2
BLACK	—[a]	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
INDIAN	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OTHERS AND UNKNOWN	14.0	15.9	11.3	10.9	10.7	8.2	12.9
	156	111	10	7	12	6	11
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	1,117	699	85	56	110	81	86

[a] NOT AVAILABLE.

SOURCE: TORONTO CITY PLANNING BOARD, RESEARCH STUDIES NO.8: ETHNIC CHANGE 1951-1971, 1974, TABLE 1.

TABLE II-5

POPULATION BY SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN 1961, PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER (1,000)

	METRO	CITY	ETOBICOKE	SCARBOROUGH	YORK	E.YORK	N.YORK
BRITISH	59.2	51.5	70.4	74.7	51.5	74.3	57.6
	958	361	140	162	72	67	155
FRENCH	3.4	4.0	3.2	3.4	2.4	2.9	2.6
	55	28	6	7	3	3	7
GERMAN	4.4	4.5	4.2	4.7	4.1	3.4	4.2
	70	32	8	10	6	3	11
ITALIAN	8.3	11.2	4.5	2.2	17.1	3.7	5.8
	135	78	9	5	24	3	15
JEWISH	3.4	2.3	0.2	0.1	4.5	0.2	11.0
	53	16	0.3	0.1	6	0.1	30
ASIATIC	1.2	1.8	0.7	0.8	0.6	1.2	0.7
	20	13	1	2	1	1	2
BLACK	— [a]	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
INDIAN	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OTHERS AND UNKNOWN	20.1	24.7	16.8	14.1	19.8	14.3	18.1
	327	175	35	31	14	14	49
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	1,618	703	199	217	139	91	269

[a] NOT AVAILABLE.

SOURCE: TORONTO CITY PLANNING BOARD, RESEARCH STUDIES NO.8: ETHNIC CHANGE 1951-1971, 1974, TABLE 2.

TABLE II-6

POPULATION BY SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN 1971, PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER (1,000)

	METRO	CITY	ETOBICOKE	SCARBOROUGH	YORK	E.YORK	N.YORK
BRITISH	53.3	45.8	62.5	70.2	40.8	64.6	48.8
	1,112	326	177	235	60	67	246
FRENCH	3.4	3.7	3.6	4.0	2.5	3.3	2.9
	72	27	10	13	4	3	14
GERMAN	4.1	3.3	5.0	5.2	3.2	3.8	4.2
	85	24	14	17	5	4	21
ITALIAN	12.0	12.6	8.3	4.6	28.3	6.3	14.6
	250	90	23	15	42	6	73
JEWISH	5.1	3.5	0.4	0.3	4.5	0.6	14.5
	107	25	1	1	7	0.6	73
ASIATIC	3.1	4.8	1.8	2.2	1.7	3.4	2.6
	66	34	5	7	2	4	13
BLACK [a]	1.2	1.6	— [b]	—	—	—	—
	26	12	—	—	—	—	—
INDIAN	0.3	0.4	—	—	—	—	—
	5	3	—	—	—	—	—
OTHERS	17.4	24.0	—	—	—	—	—
AND UNKNOWN	362	171	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	110.0
	2,086	713	289	334	147	105	504

[a] THIS CATEGORY INCLUDED NEGRO AND INDIAN.

[b] DATA NEEDED TO BE CAREFULLY EXAMINED.

SOURCE: TORONTO CITY PLANNING BOARD, RESEARCH STUDIES NO.8: ETHNIC CHANGE 1951-1971, 1974, TABLE 3.

The Italians experienced slow but persistent growth from 1901 over the decades preceding 1951. However, by 1961 and 1971 they were the third largest group in the City (11.2%, 12.6%) as well as in Metro (8.3%, 12%). The recent suburbanization process of this group has shown substantial variation in its distribution: ranging from 4.6% in Scarborough to 28.3% in York in 1971 (Table 6). At the same time, a highly concentrated settlement pattern extends from York to North York. Because of the recentness of its arrival and the sponsored basis of its immigration, which puts less emphasis on skills and education, this group has often been found to be at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale.

The Asiatic category represented the fourth largest ethnic group in the City (4.8%) and the seventh largest in Metro (3.1%) in 1971 (Table 6). This visible aggregate was somewhat unimportant in earlier immigration history owing to restricted and discriminatory measures. Because the Asian minority was more urban-oriented, it is not surprising that nearly 70% of the province's Asians were located in Metro in 1971 (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 173-176). The suburban movement of this population was increasing slightly, especially from East York to North York; it

did show a concentration pattern but not as strong as those of the Jews and the Italians in York and North York.

It is interesting to note that, in 1971, only the Chinese distribution pattern is similar to that of the Asian group. Also the Chinese were more highly concentrated in the City than the other two Asian subgroups. Over 70% of the Metro Chinese were located in the City compared to 36% of the Japanese and 41% of the other Asians (Toronto City Planning Board, 1974: 7).

In 1971, the French population was the fifth largest ethnic group in the City (3.7%) and the sixth largest (3.4%) in Metro (Table 6). From 1901 to 1961, the French group has grown steadily in the City; but since 1961, they have declined in significance, going from 4.0% to 3.7%. On the other hand, they have become more important in Metro, increasing from 2.9% of the population in 1951 to a steady 3.4% in 1961 and 1971 (Tables 4, 5, and 6). While the total population is fairly stable, they have increased in Scarborough and East York in the past decade.

Because of the long-established French population in Canada and because of few immigrants from France being present in Toronto, the French ethnic origin classification defined by the census seems to be more

prone to error than that of any other ethnic group. Richmond reports that in 1961 over 60% of the French ethnic group had English as their mother tongue (Richmond, 1967b: 29). Although the French are the other charter group in Canada, the case of the French in Toronto is different. The census data, for instance, indicate that this group tended to disperse spatially over time throughout the urban area.

The Jewish population ranked third after the British and German in 1901. Yet their proportion was six times that of the German in 1921. Their numbers grew dramatically relative to those of the British. This allowed the Jews to maintain their second position for the three decades of 1921 to 1951. From the fifties and sixties on, there was a decline in the Jewish population of the City and Metro. In the City, this decline was due, in part, to a suburban migration of this long and well-established Toronto group. The ethnic studies from the Toronto City Planning Board illustrated that the Jewish population declined by 65% or 30,313 in the City but rose by 874% or 26,713 in North York from 1951 to 1961 (Toronto City Planning Board, 1974: 8). For Metro as a whole, the decline seems to be primarily associated with the inadequacy and inappropriateness of the census classification of ethnic

origin. For instance, the underestimation of the Jewish group would be greater in 1961 than in 1951 because the population identifying a Jewish origin in 1951 was 90% of the population claiming the Jewish religion. This proportion decreased to 54% in 1961 (Richmond, 1967b: 32; Toronto City Planning Board, 1974: 9).

Similar to the Italian and Asian groups, Jews are usually thought to be very much urban oriented. They also show the highest degree of geographic concentration across Metro. Spatially there has been a distinct, highly segregated settlement pattern of the Jewish people spreading from York to North York, displaying an even more direct northward expansion than that of the Italians.

The seventh largest ethnic group in the City in 1971 were the Germans, numbering 23,815 and representing 3.3% of the City's total population (Table 6). Prior to 1951, the German population had grown slowly. Substantial increase did not begin until after the War, particularly in the heaviest immigration period during 1951 to 1955. As a result, in 1961, the Germans became the fourth largest group in both the City and Metro. In the same year, 43% of the Germans had English as their mother tongue; this quick acquisition of English suggested that they might also exhibit a less

concentrated geographic pattern, like the French group. Part of this may in part be due to the fact that, unlike the Italian immigrants, the German immigrants relied very little on family sponsorship. Most immigrants entered Canada because they possessed educational and occupational skills that were considered by the authorities to be in urgent demand (Richmond, 1967b: 28).

The Blacks and native Indians are the two remaining groups discussed in this study. They tend to blend together into the "others and unknown" category and are both racial minorities. More recently, in the 1971 census, Negro and West Indian origins were first identified, and a partial breakdown of the "others" category listing all three separate groups is furnished (Toronto City Planning Board, 1974: 13).

The Black population, being a prime component of the "others" category, often included Negro and West Indian origins. Since no detailed ethnic origin data in terms of a clear breakdown of this unknown category is available, especially for 1951 and 1961, it is hard to make comparisons and interpretations. However, the population in the Negro or Black category increased very slightly over the past decades. In 1961, the Negro population in the City was 3,153; in 1971, the Negro

population was 5,090 while those of West Indian origins were 6,570. Together, then, they comprised 1.6% of the City population which did exceed the combined Dutch, Russian and Scandinavian populations in the City, demonstrating that the Black population has now become a significant ethnic group (Toronto City Planning Board, 1974: 13). On the other hand, the number of native Indians is very insignificant in Toronto. Even in 1971, there were only 2,990 and 5,545 native Indians in the City and in Metro respectively. From these figures one can see that over 50% of the native Indian population was concentrated in the City.

4. MELTING POT AND MULTICULTURALISM

The process of ethnic integration is very much a fact of contemporary urban life in North America. According to Hughes and Kallen, the concept of integration in a broad sense, refers to all the transactional processes whereby ethnic group members acquire the distinctive cultural characteristics and penetrate the social institutions of an ethnic group to which they do not belong (Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 150-151). Hence, the possibility that Canadian urban industrial societies can vary in their propensity for ethnic integration is worth examining.

The traditional philosophy in Canada is that the "ethnic mosaic" allows for the preservation of ethnic cultures. In contrast, the American "melting pot" favours rapid immigrant assimilation and the elimination of ethnic differences (Reitz, 1980: 1). But the relatively weak official multicultural ideology in Canada should not lead anyone to think that Canada is not as much a melting pot or at least an arena of Anglo-conformity as the U.S. However, it is true that the predominant pattern of ethnic integration or assimilation in both countries has historically been conformity (Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 187).

Integration usually refers to the processes through which ethnic group members may seek to acquire some cultural characteristics of other groups and gain access to some of the social institutions of the main group (Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 150). The "melting pot" notion in North America assumes a merging of immigrant groups with the Anglo-Saxon and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous type (Gordon, 1964: 85). Groups in contact can be equal in terms of power, privilege and prestige in which case they contribute equally to new peoples, cultures and social institutions. Such radical transformation therefore should produce a distinctive, new society and culture

(Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 185). In this newly created society, social institutions should be equally easy to penetrate by all groups.

The American concept of ethnic integration is described as even more assimilationist than the Canadian's. The "melting pot" notion not only requires a society in which a blending of cultures and groups is indispensable but also requires a radical transformation to eliminate ethnic differences.

Conventionally, Canada's social system differs from that of the U.S. in terms of retaining Old World loyalties, conservative social norms, weak nationalism and strong regionalism. In addition, the long perpetuation of the class/status hierarchy between the majority and minority groups exists. Cultural pluralism as seen in Canada is built up on the basis of a conservative society in which the essentials of culture and social structure are maintained (Reitz, 1980: 38-43).

In Canada, the official policy towards the integration process has fluctuated for decades between Anglo- or French conformity and cultural pluralism. In effect, after Confederation Anglo-conformity was the central theme held by the main group. This meant that new immigrants had to conform to the dominant British

institutional structure rather than a Canadian identity (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 271-279). Anglo-conformity seemed to lose its force after World War II, because of the recruitment of substantial numbers of non-British immigrants from the Old World by the Canadian government. The immense number and diverse cultures of these immigrant groups appeared difficult to incorporate into the single context of Anglo-conformity. As a direct result, the shift from Anglo-conformity to cultural pluralism after World War II, which has stressed integration rather than assimilation, is understandable.

During the early 1960's, the English-French conflict contributed greatly to the emergence of biculturalism which indirectly raised the expectations of other ethnic groups who wanted to improve their cultural status and recognition in the country (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 82-83). At the same time, the increasingly multi-ethnic population, created through immigration, together with the changing social climate promoted ensuing changes in immigration laws as well as federal policies. Thus, in the 1970's the federal government's support of the multiculturalism policy was the first official response to the growing need to recognize the cultural contributions of other ethnic

groups (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969: volume 4).

"Multiculturalism" is a loosely defined term in cultural interpretations. First of all, present-day Canada is a country of numerous minorities with two dominant cultures, though Canada has been gradually evolving into a multi-ethnic nation. Secondly, it seems contradictory that multiculturalism encourages voluntary preservation of ethnic groups' identity and heritage on the one hand and develops a common and distinctive Canadian national consciousness on the other. Non-integration certainly restricts the full participation of some specific groups. The ideal that all ethnic communities, large or small, share equally in the development of the nation is unrealistic. Thirdly, the superficial maintenance of cultural status of a particular ethnic group in terms of traditional arts or folklore is extremely inadequate. This is especially so with respect to language retention. The attitude of the governments, whether federal or provincial, remains ambiguous in relation to promoting language programmes other than English and French. Fourthly, direct inter-ethnic exchange in terms of the redistribution of resources necessary for greater minority penetration into majority institutions is still limited.

Ultimately, no attention has been paid to the question of social and economic equality of these cultural groups. If multiculturalism only refers to "other ethnic groups" in terms of voluntary minority integration into the norm group, it appears to be a modified version of Anglo-conformity because it officially allows the preservation of distinct ethnic identity and unofficially ensures the perpetuation of minority status conditions.

The above notwithstanding multiculturalism seeks to promote increased status and recognition for minority ethnic cultures. This support in Canada is encouraging for the ethnic groups. But only very limited success can be expected because the major cultural groups in Canada have treated the multiculturalism issue as a symbol of good intention. But their recognition of the minority cultures is basically a token expression of cultural tolerance.

5. SUMMARY

Big cities are innovation centres which naturally act as magnets pulling incessant waves of mixed immigrants into a rather homogeneous society. Big cities are also ideal social laboratories which provide

insight into understanding the integration process of these immigrants as well as the absorptive capacity of the host society.

It is no coincidence that Toronto's dynamic ethnic pictures more or less follow the norm of the national trends but deviate in certain circumstances, because of its unique urban dominance in the country and also as a port of entry of immigrants. As a rule, the ethnic character of the City changes in response to the total growth of Metropolitan Toronto and to the associated movement of ethnic groups within the metropolitan area. From 1951 to 1971, the ethnic composition of each borough in Metro became more diverse.

The City of Toronto has traditionally been a reception area for recently arrived immigrant groups. As these groups adjust and improve their socioeconomic status in the dominant society, they will move outward to the suburbs. Thus, population growth in Metropolitan Toronto occurs in successive waves and is partly the result of this outspreading of ethnic populations. Simultaneously, the ethnic mosaic of the City is being reinforced by the arrival of new immigrants. There have been two identifiable settlement patterns of the well-established ethnic groups. (1) Such groups as the British, French, German tended to disperse evenly

throughout the urban area. (2) Other groups like the Jewish, Italian and Asian have preserved their group cohesiveness in their outward movement. Recently, the Chinese, the Blacks and the native Indians are becoming very concentrated in the City.

Whether melting pot, cultural pluralism or multiculturalism, the primary direction of integration processes within an established society tends to be towards the norms and patterns of society at large. In a stratified society like Canada, the cultural and social institutions are, of course, those of the majority group.

However, in order to describe the ethnic changes in the city's population over time more precisely, the centrographic model will be used in the next chapter. It will calculate a set of geographic spaces for each ethnic group so as to trace accurately the patterns of segregation or concentration of the different ethnic groups.

CHAPTER III

THE GEOGRAPHIC SPACE OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN TORONTO

1. THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF TORONTO

In the present study Metropolitan Toronto refers to the area covered by the City of Toronto and five boroughs. The Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area was first established in 1953 and included Metropolitan Toronto and 13 fringe municipalities (now the five boroughs). After 1966 the Metropolitan Planning Area was reduced to the existing boundaries of Metropolitan Toronto (Spelt, 1973: 3; Baine, 1977: 98-99). Since the built-up area extends beyond the boundaries of Metropolitan Toronto, Statistics Canada has defined a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) that encompasses Metropolitan Toronto and more municipalities on the fringe, with a total population of 2,628,000 in 1971. The metropolitan area on the other hand has only 2,086,000 people (Spelt, 1973: 3).

The amazing, large-scale growth of the city did not actually materialize until after the Second World War. The years after 1945 marked the beginning of a period of population growth unprecedented in the history of the

Toronto urban complex. Within almost three decades, an entirely new city has emerged, sharply different from most other North American cities (Spelt, 1973: 1).

At the same time, the profound changes in the composition of its population have undeniably enriched the cultural life of Toronto. Until very recently, the population was overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon in origin, and throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century, the city was famous for its British nature and outlook. In other words, Toronto was still a very "waspish" metropolis (Richmond, 1967b: 4; Spelt, 1973: 3). After the Second World War, a tremendous number of immigrants came to the city, especially the Italians and Orientals, adding a cosmopolitan flavour to a traditionally austere community. Both the increase in the ethnic populations and in the continuous expansion of the city boundaries triggered off a colossal change with an urban ethnic mosaic emerging and the associated philosophy of multiculturalism.

Certain parts of the city, once loyal British in character, have become differentiated because of ethnic segregations or concentrations. Ethnic communities, once established in the city core, now experience changes and show a relatively consistent shift in the physical space of the city as the city boundaries

expand. Thus, the investigation of the spatial distributions of ethnic groups throughout the metropolitan area will indeed bring out the unique aspects of the city as well as of its populations.

2. THE CENTROGRAPHIC TECHNIQUE

The technique used in this study has shown itself to be a useful and efficient tool to translate a large quantity of numerical data into graphic form (Jones, 1980: 201). Its spatial relationships can be viewed quickly in generalized fashion.

Since this chapter is concerned with the spatial analysis of ethnic groups in Metropolitan Toronto, the application and limitation of the centrographic technique must be mentioned. In order to show that the technique can be applied successfully to urban spatial relationships over time, the abstract measures used are first discussed.

The technique initially shows the centre of the distribution of the spatial pattern of the population. About this centre, a standard distance is employed to measure in part the dispersion of the points about the centre. Its value is calculated similarly to the standard deviation in a unidimensional distribution.

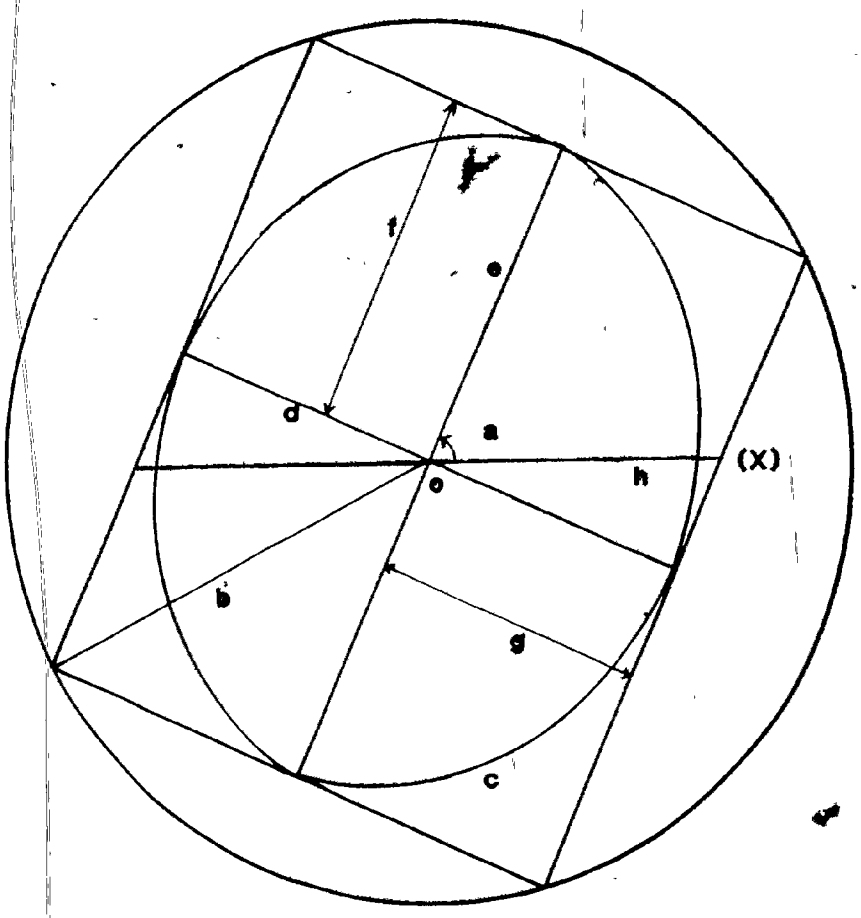
Secondly, the technique may exhibit the general direction of the set of points on which it is based by means of an ellipse. If the pattern of an ethnic group is linear for example, it stretches from east to west, then the ellipse would form a similar directional pattern with the greatest extent (major axis) following the east-west direction, and the narrowest part of the ellipse (minor axis) having a north-south direction.

In sum, the ellipse (or the standard deviational ellipse) is "a device for illustrating graphically the centre of a distribution, its amount of dispersion, and the shape and direction of the dispersion in a single compact figure" (Lee, 1967: 33). Hence, measures such as (1) mean centre or centre of population, (2) standard radius, (3) standard distances about the major and minor axes, and (4) angle of rotation or angle of inclination (calculated from the major X-axis) which fits the major axis along the main population dispersion. The measures are graphically presented in Figure 1.

The degree to which a spatial phenomenon is dispersed or concentrated can be summarized by the standard radius. It is defined as the square root of the mean of the sum of the squared distances of the observations from the centre of population. The

Figure 1

Centrographic Measures



- o Mean centre
- a Rotation angle
- b Standard radius
- c Standard deviational ellipse
- d Minor axis
- e Major axis
- f Standard distance about y'
- g Standard distance about x'
- h Original major axis (X)

Source: Derived from Jones, E.G. Economic Geography 1988, p. 202.

standard deviational ellipse in contrast to the standard radius is a spatial dispersion and directional measure of a point pattern. It is a measure of circularity or skewness. The mean centre of the ellipse is also the centre of a population and is similar to the centre of gravity of the set of points which minimizes the sum of the squares of the distances of the observations to a point. The shape of the ellipse is mainly determined by the following related measures: the major axis or the principal axis, defined as the one passing through the mean centre about which the sum of the squares of the orthogonal distances of the observations to it is a minimum. The minor axis, which passes through the centre, has the sum of the squares of the orthogonal distances of the observations to it as a maximum. These axes are therefore the standard deviations of the orthogonal distances of the observations about the major and minor axes (Ebdon, 1977: 113-115; Jones, 1980: 202-203). The skewness or measure of circularity is a ratio of the standard distance about the major axis to that of the minor axis. When the major axis is rotated so as to fit itself to the general distribution of points, the angle of rotation is determined by the following formula: (Lee, 1967: 32; Hecht, 1972: 174)

$$\tan 2a = 2\, r \cdot \sigma_x \cdot \sigma_y \,/\, \sigma_x^2 - \sigma_y^2$$

where the original points were recorded in an X-Y coordinate system. In this formula, a is the angle between the original X-axis and the rotated x'-axis (Figure 1), and r is the correlation coefficient. In order to fit an ellipse about the mean centre of a point pattern, the length of the major (longer) and minor (shorter) axes and the orientation of the ellipse are necessary to be known.[1]

In essence, the location of each individual ethnic group, the direction of its dispersion, and the shape and extent of this dispersion are presented by one single elliptical portrait. Accordingly, a set of ellipses for each individual ethnic group or various sets of ellipses for different groups over time will produce notable spatial distribution patterns, and thus the applicability of this technique can be justified.

In theory, the use of centrographic measures seems very appropriate for analysis of areal distributions of urban subgroups or subpopulations. In reality, data problems pertinent to both <u>area</u> and <u>population</u> do exist. Failure to handle these problems adequately will affect the results as well as the conclusions of the study (Lee, 1967: 42). In this study, eight groups--

British, French, German, Italian, Jewish, Asian, Black and native Indian-- were chosen on the basis of the published and unpublished 1971 census. Such a specific selection was critical, because this was the only available census data with a partial breakdown of visible minorities like Blacks and native Indians (Toronto City Planning Board, 1974: 13).

The first problem in regard to over time comparison of ethnic groups in this study is their consistency. Since consistency is a relative term, it is necessary to use specific ethnic groups as examples to help clarify this point. First of all, if the group behaves in a similar manner over time, it is considered to have a consistent pattern. The French, the German, the Italian and the native Indian groups are good examples. A group may not be homogenous in terms of ethnicity makeup but still behaves as a single group, its behaviour pattern is still considered to be consistent. The British, the Asian and the Jewish groups, are for instance made up of many diverse sub-ethnic components. This problem exists because of vague and uncertain census definitions (Toronto City Planning Board, 1974: 2-11).

The British ethnic origin question in the census has been quite similar from 1951 to 1971, because all these censuses reported the British origin by combining

English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh. The Jewish group, which is defined in terms of religious designation and composed of various ethnic elements, demonstrates excellent consistency over time. The Asians' classification appears most inappropriate and ambiguous. Before the mid 1960's, this combined category was mainly made up of the Chinese, the Japanese, and other Asians. Usually, the Chinese were extremely important owing to the relatively high proportion of their population (> 50%) within the Asian category (Toronto City Planning Board, 1974 : 7). But after 1967, a change in immigration policies and a substantial influx of immigrants plus refugees from Asia did alter the previous stable trend, though the number of Chinese immigrants, mainly from Hong Kong, increased dramatically. Because the Chinese no longer make up the majority of the group and because there has been an increase in the diversity of nationalities of recent Asian immigrants, a redefined and more precise census definition is urgently needed. Thus, it is reasonable to believe that the centrographic results of this group would be somewhat peculiar particularly after the 1970's.

However, six ethnic groups, excluding the Blacks and the native Indians, are more or less constant and

stable enough to be carried through three points in time for comparison. The contemporary comparison from 1971 to 1976 was made possible by using mother tongue as an indicator, which offered satisfactory results in spite of minor errors and overstatements.

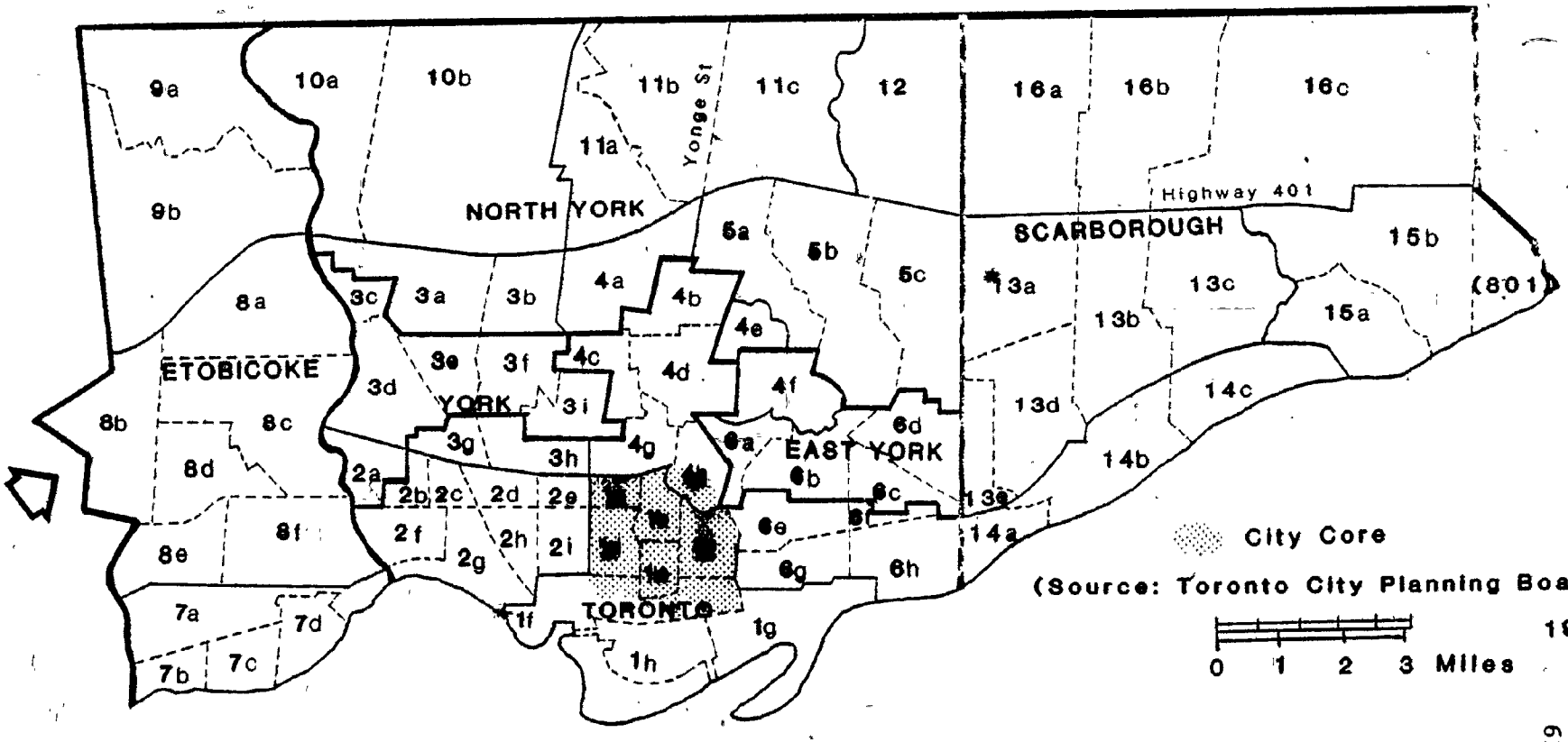
The second problem encountered related to the groups' areal distribution in the study area. The main aim of this chapter is to test a hypothesis that over time ethnic groups in urban space will tend to be spatially integrated. That is, the consistent area comparisons will become imperative. But as the city grows, its boundary definitions have to change. The changing boundaries from one time period to the next will also affect the groups' distributions, and there will be more difficulties in distinguishing changes between different time sequences and the relative segregation or concentration of specific groups. Consequently, in order to make spatial comparisons among groups workable, the arbitrary determination of areal units in the city becomes essential.

As mentioned before, both the published and unpublished 1971 census data play a central part in this study. It becomes necessary to explain further what modified areal unit will be suitable to the study when a centrographic technique is used.

Initially, 76 standard minor planning districts of 1971 for Metropolitan Toronto were selected as basic units for this study (see Figure 2). Census tracts provide the smallest published and most accurate statistical units for making comparisons within a city or between cities. Regardless of their varying sizes and shapes, they tend to be smaller near the city core and larger on the outskirts (Lee, 1967: 44-45). In a relative sense, outer tracts are usually lower in population, especially in specific ethnic minorities. As a consequence, when census tracts are combined to form planning districts, this principle is preserved, and the selection of planning districts as preliminary areal units seems to be proper.

Secondly, spatial relationships of ethnic groups in Toronto can only be obtained by comparing similar areal units. Hence, it was necessary to combine the 1951, '61 and '76 census tracts into minor planning districts according to the city's 1971 model (Figure 2). Combination of over 300 census tracts into 76 minor planning districts for every census year was indeed a laborious task. Again, some arbitrary groupings and areal bias seem to be unavoidable because of the changing census tract boundaries, particularly in the '51 and '61 census. The '76 census was identical to the

Figure 2 Metropolitan Toronto Minor Planning Districts, 1971



'71 model: only one more tract (801), which is located at the east edge of Scarborough, was added and also designated as one of the 77 minor planning units within the 16 major planning districts. Above all, errors from this areal modification seem not very great because the City and the inner suburban ring were retained, and only the outer suburban ring shows considerable changes.

It is also realized that larger tracts in the suburbs have a rather strong effect on the measures of dispersion, because mathematically, the calculation of the standard distance will weight heavily the importance of the extreme points farthest from the mean centre in a distribution. When all the distances from the mean centre are squared, these "rogue" points thus have a disproportionate influence on the value of the standard radius (Ebdon, 1977: 113).

At the beginning of this study, each unit of population had to be located in space by some means, and Cartesian coordinates were used for this purpose. Since the data come mainly from census tracts, some points had to be decided upon to represent the aggregate population of the tracts. Each minor planning district was assigned a central point and given a set of coordinates, and these centres were retained over time.

When all the population is evenly distributed in the urban area, the weighting of each mean centre is equal to 1. In the empirical case of Toronto, this condition was however not true. Therefore, for each ethnic group, unless there were no representative members of the group living in the outer edges, those centres are weighted according to the number of people living in that planning district.

Finally, the rather flat topography in the north, east and west direction of Toronto seems to provide sufficient land available to allow for expansion on nearly all sides. However, the southern expansion was constrained by Lake Ontario. On the whole, the original rectangular city pattern and its similar directional expansion explains why most of the different ethnic groups have the same directional distribution.

3. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN TORONTO

As discussed above, centrographic measures should help us to understand the spatial behaviour of ethnic groups in terms of their relative extent of segregation or concentration in an urban area. The measures also reflect their spatial integration process vis-a-vis the reference group as a whole in an urban society. Hence,

this section will focus on the "spatial"[2] segregation and integration process of ethnic groups over time in Metropolitan Toronto.

(1) British, Germans and French

It was anticipated that the German, the French and the reference (British) group would exhibit stable and constant distributions in Metropolitan Toronto by virtue of their intimate historical relations in Upper Canada. In most cases this in fact was the case. The standard radius and the main angle of dispersion for the German and the French groups corresponded with those of the British reference group (Table 1). The fit was so close that visual confusion occurred when the three groups were plotted in an attempt to discover differences. Therefore, in order to facilitate both the graphic presentation and discussion, separate comparison was needed.

Generally speaking, if an ethnic group's location is nearly identical to that of the ethnic reference group or total urban population, this can be viewed as an indicator of high residential integration (spatial integration). Social integration then is also thought to be present.

TABLE III-1

CENTROGRAPHIC MEASURES FOR THE BRITISH, GERMAN AND FRENCH GROUPS, 1951-1976

	MEAN CENTRE X	Y	ALPHA[b]	MAJOR AXIS[a]	MINOR AXIS[a]	STANDARD RADIUS[a]	SKEWNESS
BRITISH							
1951	10.39	4.94	3.2642	3.7736	2.0705	4.3042	1.8225
1961	10.85	5.86	5.2449	4.8469	2.5186	5.4622	1.9244
1971	11.35	6.53	4.4818	5.2549	2.7718	5.9411	1.8959
1976	11.31	6.97	6.1513	5.3440	2.7843	6.0258	1.9193
GERMAN							
1951	10.14	4.90	4.1855	3.5912	2.0496	4.1349	1.7522
1961	10.36	5.67	5.8500	4.6052	2.4813	5.2312	1.8560
1971	11.11	6.75	4.1500	5.4615	2.8556	6.1629	1.9127
1976	11.11	7.06	5.9097	5.6764	2.7606	6.3121	2.0562
FRENCH							
1951	10.30	4.34	5.2707	3.5027	1.8897	3.9799	1.8536
1961	10.66	5.17	5.8365	4.4198	2.4813	5.0687	1.7812
1971	11.11	6.08	5.3106	5.0536	2.8990	5.8261	1.7432
1976	10.84	6.46	9.7502	5.0035	2.7931	5.7303	1.7914

[a] MILES.

[b] DEGREES.

SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1951-1976 PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED POPULATION DATA.

The graphic presentation of the reference population (British) described a rather consistent and typical distribution pattern (Figure 3). A set of increasing linear elliptical planes, parallel to the main east-west transport routes and perpendicular to the Yonge Street corridor of the City, emerged. These planes clearly reveal that from 1951 to 1976 the reference group expanded constantly along the principal east-west axes. All elliptical planes became elongated with time, yet they retained similar skewness ratios. The values continue to be near 1.9 (Table 1).

Though all the major axes of the British ellipses at first glance seemed to be parallel this in fact was not the case. A closer look revealed an east-west slant with a major axis angle of rotation, increasing from 3 to 6 degrees over time. It points out an increasing pull by the population in the northeast and southwest. Through time the concentration shifted from East York in the 1950's, to North York in the 60's and Scarborough in the 70's.

It was interesting that the German and the reference groups became spatially "indistinguishable" in almost all respects (compare Figures 3 and 4). This spatial similarity would indicate that the Germans have been integrated with the British reference population

Figure 3 Ellipses of The British, 1951-1976

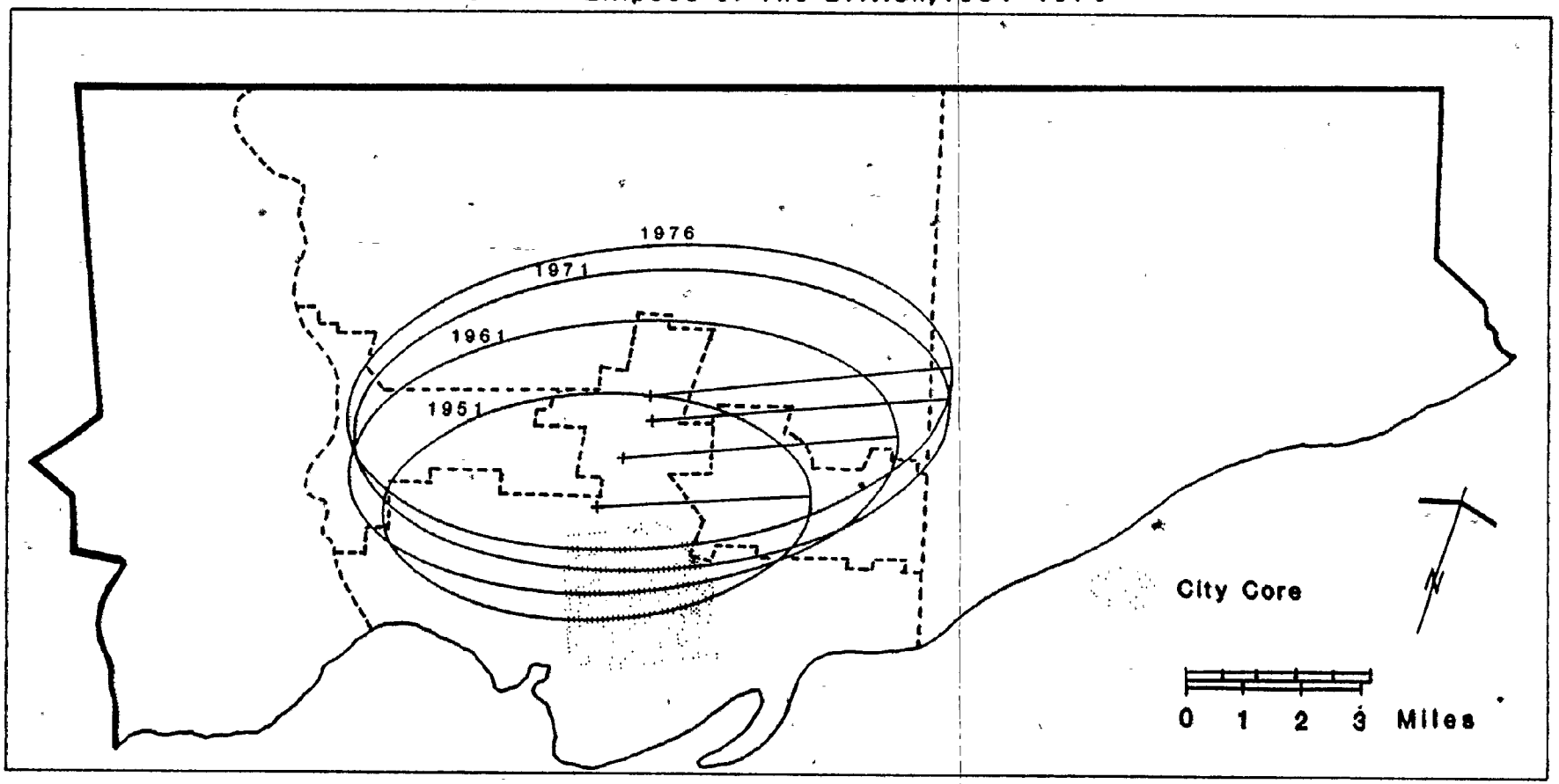
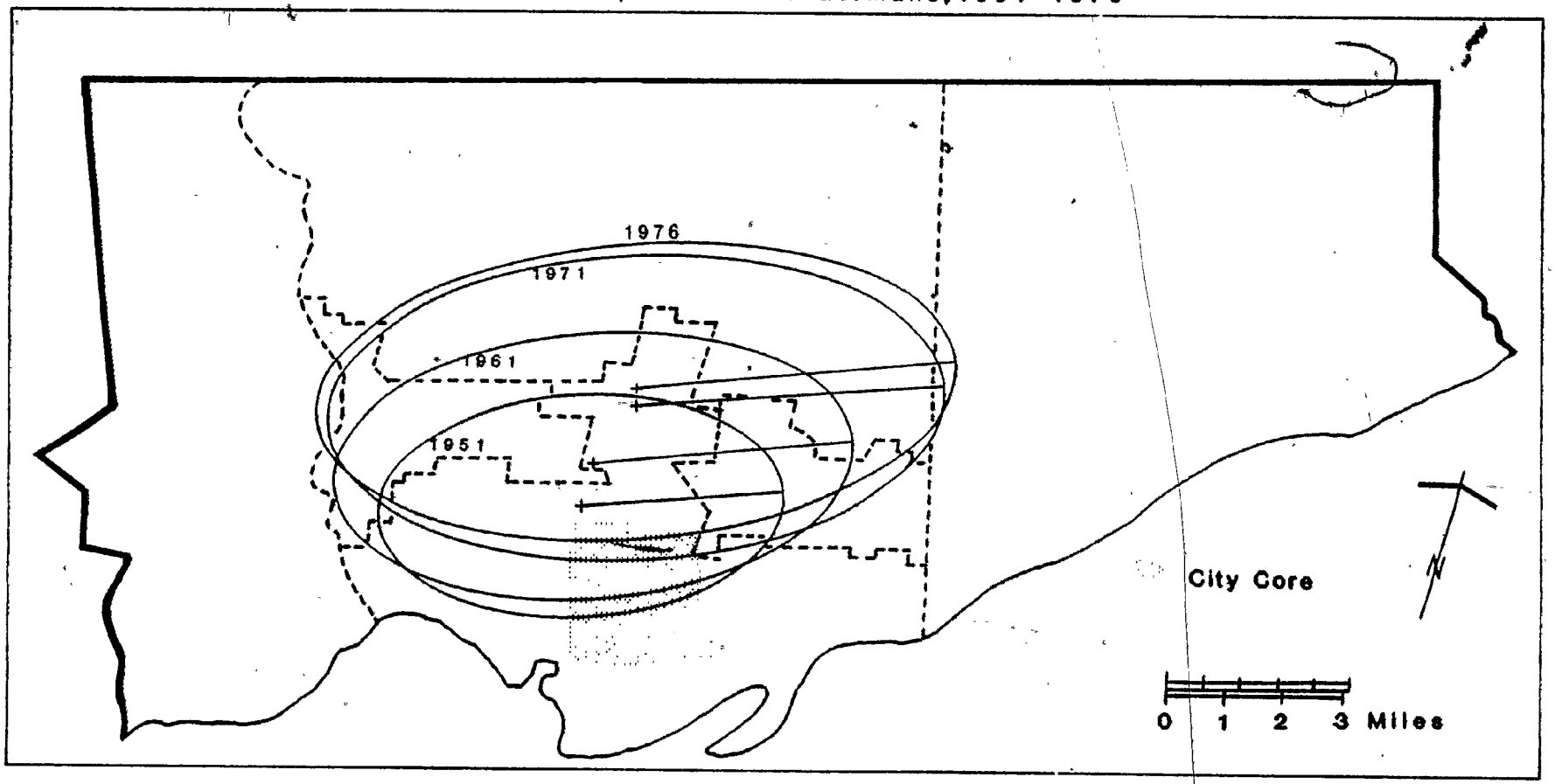


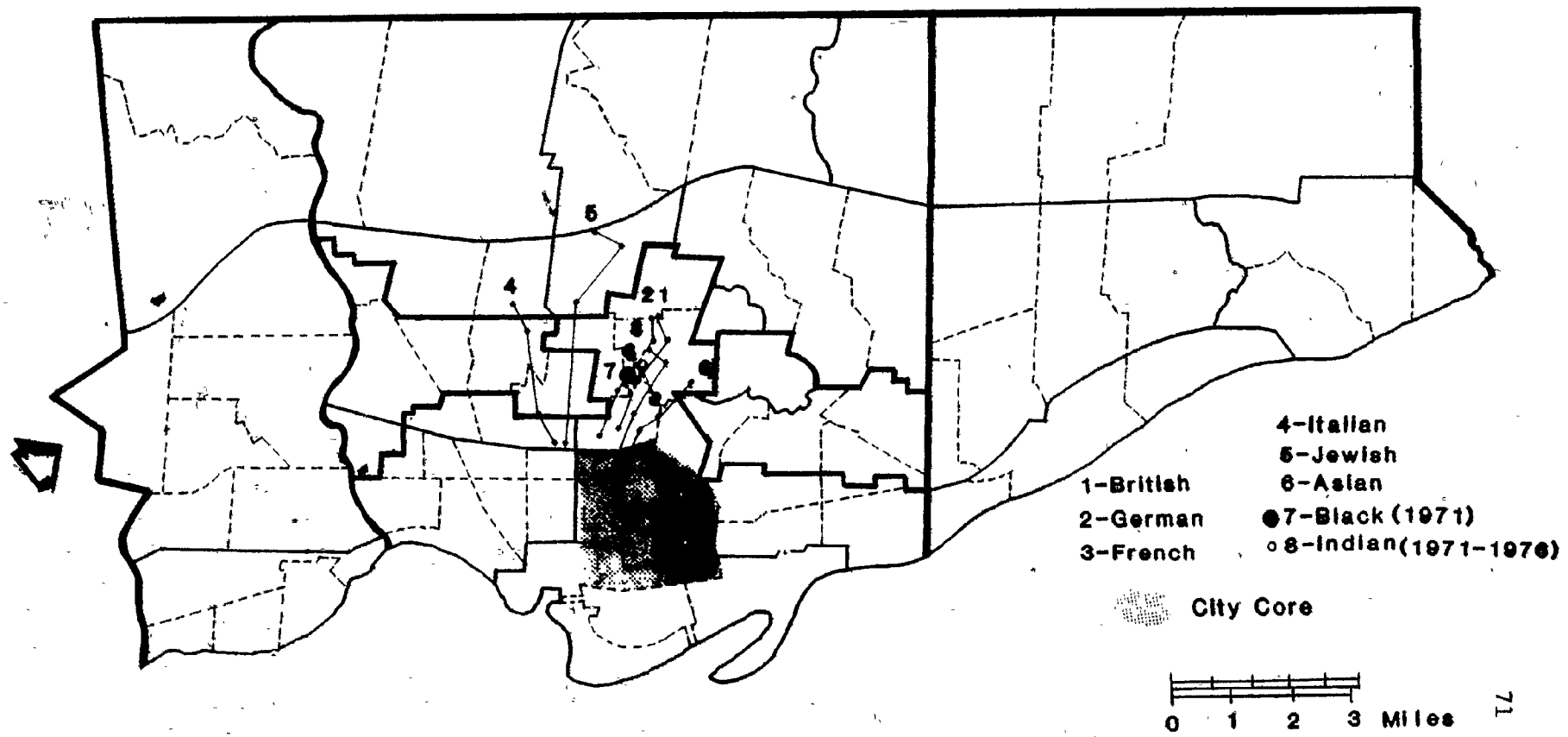
Figure 4 Ellipses of The Germans, 1951-1976



during the last three decades. Only minor differences did occur. In the first place, the geographic centres of both groups moved parallel up along the Yonge Street corridor (Figure 5). Also the centre of the Germans in 1951 was located just a shade closer to the city core than that of the reference group, which at that time was farther from the city centre than all other groups. However, in 1976 the centres for both groups almost coincided.

A second comparison between the Germans and the British related to the spread of their population. One might assume that the reference group dispersed randomly across the physical space of the city due to its overwhelming population size vis-a-vis the other ethnic groups. This assumption does not negate the possibility that within this group different residential patterns exist. Thus, the spread of the British population seems to be verified by the largest and most encompassing standard radius (Table 1). In 1951 and 1961, the British had the most widespread dispersion of its population. Also its major and minor axes expanded from 3.77 to 4.85 miles and 2.07 to 2.52 miles during this period. But for the most part, the German group's spatial measures replicated those of the reference population. After 1961, the dispersion measures of its

Figure 5 Migration Paths of Mean Centre of Eight Groups, 1951-1976



standard radius and the distance from the major and minor axes actually slightly exceeded those of the reference group (Table 1).

The French in Metropolitan Toronto also do not have a much different spatial pattern than the reference group. Their spatial absorption however is not as complete as the German's. From their rather stable movement along the migration path and their relatively unchanged "spatial distance" [3] from the reference centre, they made a less radical progress than the Germans over time (see Table 2 and Figure 6). Simultaneously, the slow movement of their centres from the inner city conformed to this wavering behaviour.

Both the French and the Asian were originally strongly attached to the downtown area. The French population centre was first located 0.6 miles closer to the city core than that of the reference population. It is therefore not surprising that they made less rapid progress to the periphery. Their ellipses also reflect this lag as a pronounced segment of the minor axis of the ellipse is always below that of the reference population (see Figures 12 and 13). Because of very little change in its skewness ratio over time (Table 1) a similar elongated ellipse of the French could be observed. An interesting shift in the major direction

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TABLE III-2

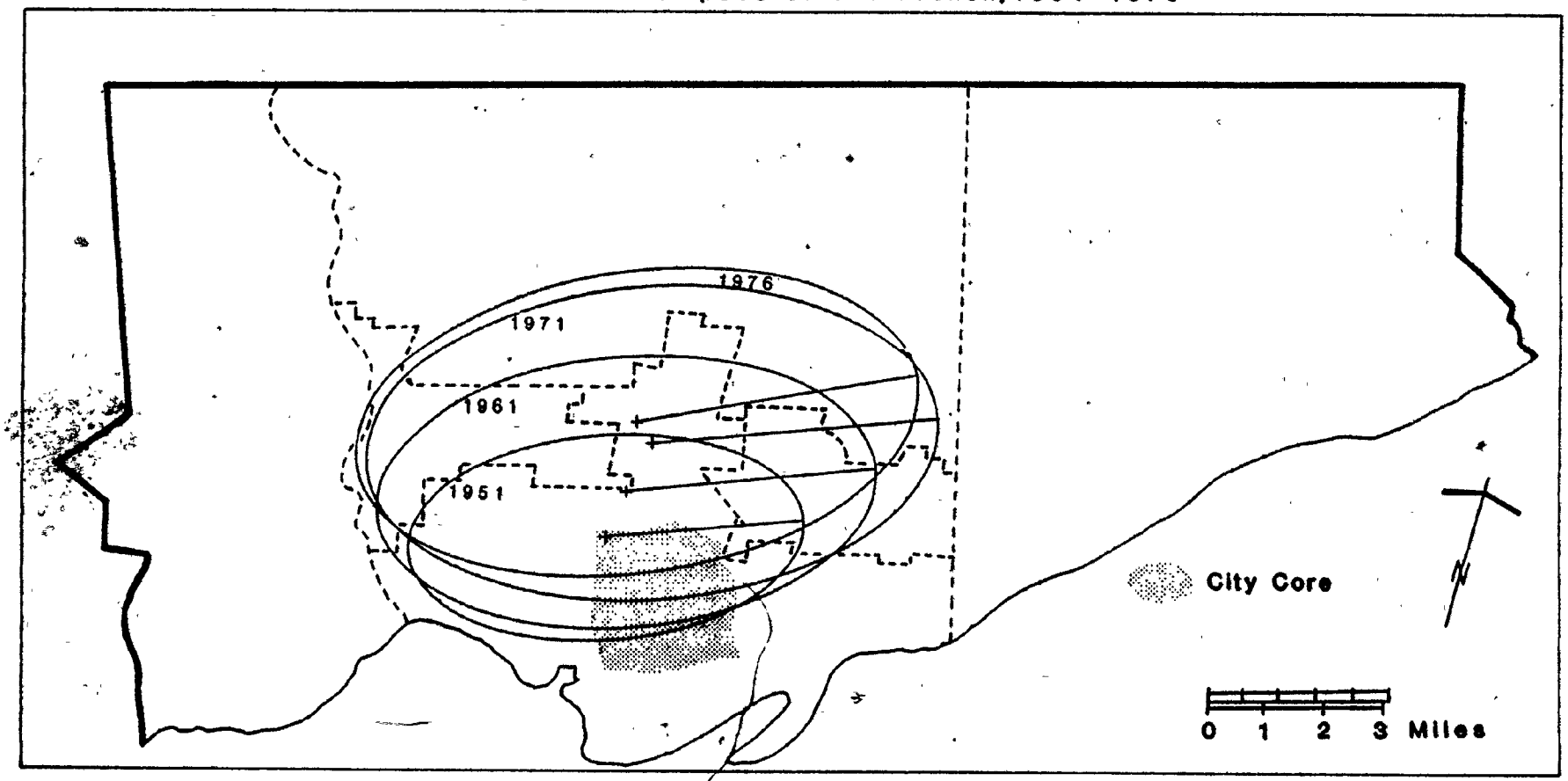
SPATIAL DISTANCE BETWEEN CENTRES OF THE REFERENCE GROUP AND A SPECIFIC ETHNIC GROUP (MILES)

	1951	1961	1971	1976
BRITISH	—	—	—	—
GERMAN	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.1
FRENCH	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.6
ITALIAN	1.2	1.8	2.5	2.5
JEWISH	1.0	1.8	2.1	1.9
ASIAN	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.4
BLACK	n.a	n.a	1.0	n.a
INDIAN	n.a	n.a	1.0	1.0

n.a. DATA NOT AVAILABLE.

SOURCE: DERIVED DIRECTLY FROM FIGURE 5 (IN TEXT).

Figure 6 Ellipses of The French, 1951-1976



of the group occurred in 1976. In only five years the group changed nearly 5 degrees in direction. Should this continue, a distinct French ethnic pattern may emerge in the future.

(2) Jews and Italians

It has long been recognized that the Canadian Jews, created a close-knit community with strong cultural, religious and socioeconomic ties (Kalbach, 1980: 10-28). Graphically, the centrographic measures of the Jewish population in Metropolitan Toronto showed a behaviour deviating from that of the British group (Figure 7). They deviated especially in the cohesiveness from other groups (compare Figures 12, 13, 14 and 15).

When compared to the distribution of other ethnic groups over time, the Jewish group spread out the least as measured by the standard radius (Table 3). Also, this group manifested its most highly concentrated and segregated pattern farthest from the city centre. It also seems to be most fully located exclusively in the suburbs of Toronto (Figure 7). The recent reduction in its standard radius indicates that it was more tightly clustered in 1976 than in 1971 (Table 3).

Figure 7 Ellipses of The Jews, 1951-1976

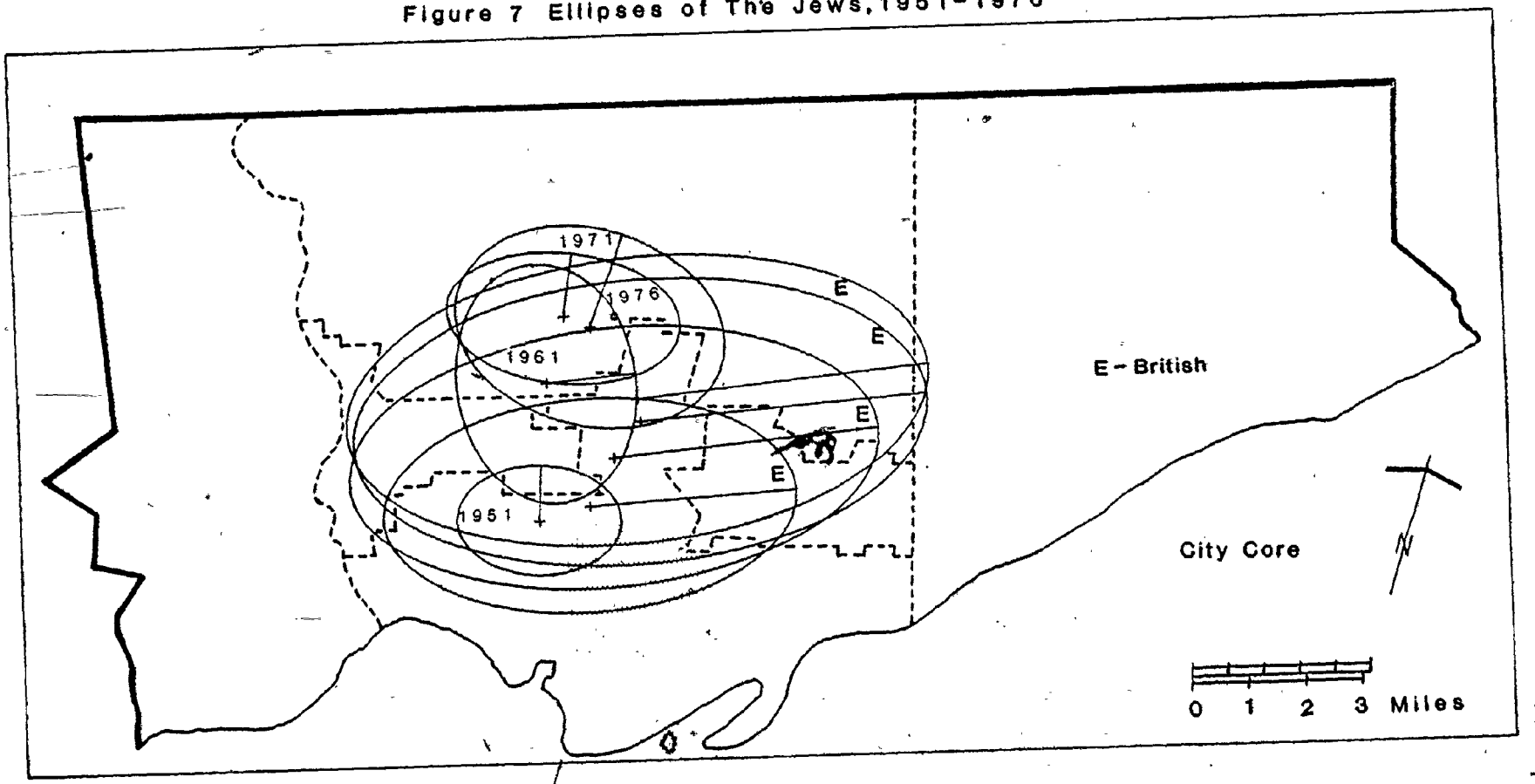


TABLE III-3

CENTROGRAPHIC MEASURES FOR THE ITALIAN, JEWISH, ASIAN, BLACK AND INDIAN GROUPS, 1951-1976

	MEAN CENTRE X	Y	ALPHA[a]	MAJOR AXIS[b]	MINOR AXIS[b]	STANDARD RADIUS[b]	SKEWNESS
ITALIAN							
1951	9.34	4.66	2.9766	2.9171	1.7414	3.3973	1.6752
1961	9.04	5.14	87.0724	2.9462	1.9844	3.5522	1.4847
1971	8.75	6.64	72.7201	3.6315	2.6925	4.5208	1.3488
1976	8.57	7.23	76.5460	3.7903	2.7935	4.7086	1.3568
JEWISH							
1951	9.46	4.68	87.2454	1.0866	1.4938	1.8471	0.7274
1961	9.66	7.35	5.5559	1.6362	2.3395	2.8549	0.6994
1971	10.49	8.40	69.8111	1.9035	2.5110	3.1521	0.7588
1976	10.01	8.61	81.5167	1.2752	2.1328	2.4850	0.5979
ASIAN							
1951	10.38	3.94	2.7652	2.5091	1.3463	2.8475	1.8637
1961	10.78	4.90	5.8795	3.6369	2.1615	4.2307	1.6826
1971	11.13	5.11	13.8888	3.8156	2.5057	4.5648	1.5228
1976	11.67	5.76	16.0654	4.4420	2.5310	5.1125	1.7550
BLACK							
1971	10.66	5.95	10.8449	4.0317	2.6609	4.8307	1.5151
INDIAN							
1971	10.74	5.35	2.2187	4.5913	2.6854	5.3190	1.7097
1976	10.55	6.08	10.4471	4.2484	2.9034	5.1458	1.4632

[a] DEGREES.

[b] MILES.

SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1951-1976 PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED POPULATION DATA.

From 1951 to 1971, the compact, nearly circular standard ellipse of the Jewish group was retained as no significant changes in its skewness ratio occurred. It remained constant at the 0.69 to 0.75 level. The values themselves demonstrate its striking deviation from the reference group and other groups throughout the three decades (see Table 3). The interesting shrinking of the ellipse in 1976 can be seen by the small alterations of the major and minor axes, skewness ratio and standard radius. What possible explanations for this shrinking can be advanced? It might for instance illustrate that the group has developed more cohesiveness and compactness since 1951. Socioeconomic interaction forces may cause spatial segregation through geographic concentration in the near future. Or the use of mother tongue as an ethnic indicator to make comparison over time possible might lead to misleading results, though the 1976 computed outcomes appeared to be very consistent. [4]

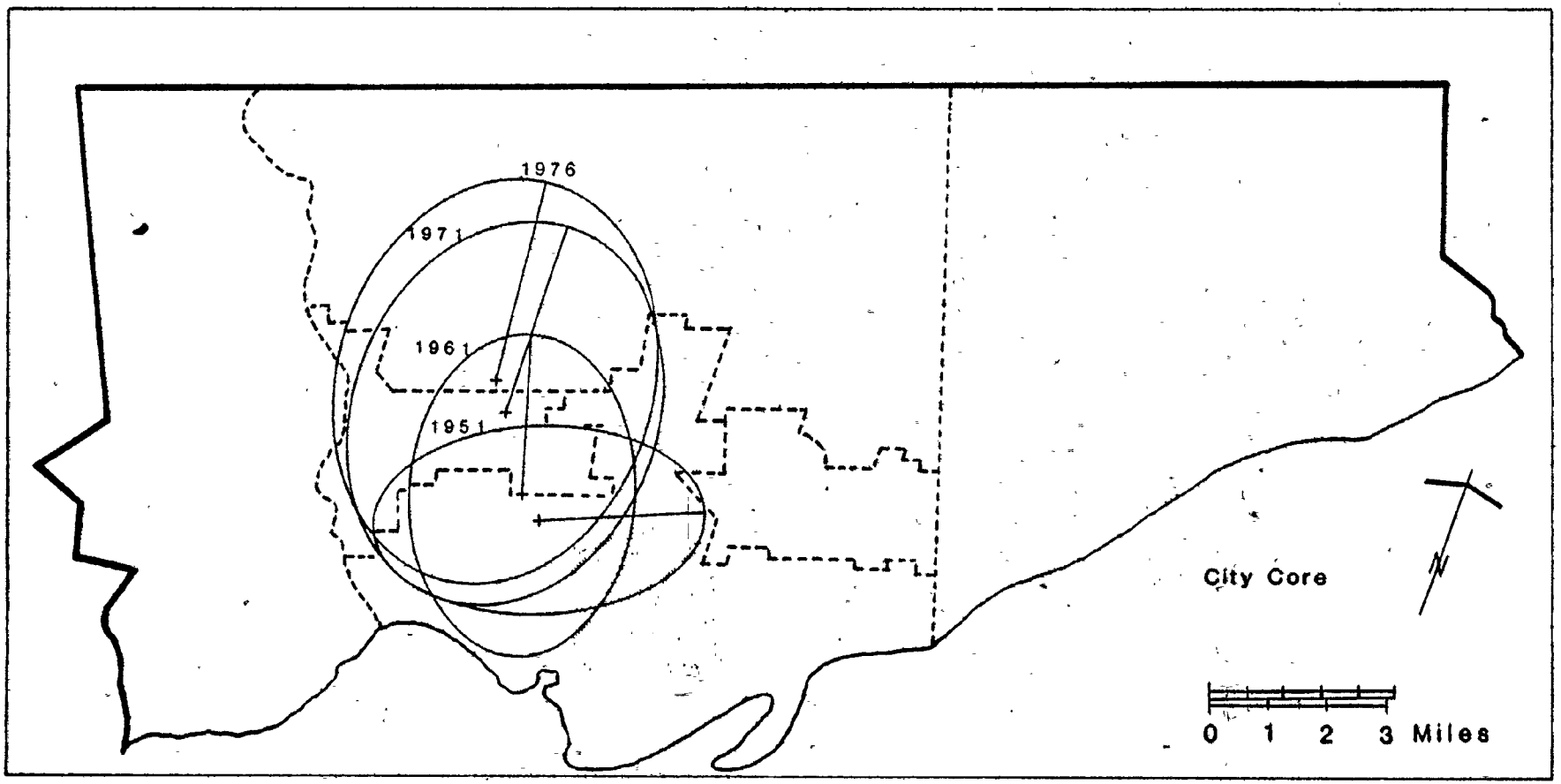
Directionally, with the exception of the 1961 ellipse, the distinct north and northeast extension of this group's mean centres (Figure 5) corresponded to its own maximum dispersion direction, which in fact caused an overturn of its major and minor axes. This unusual inversion of the axes inevitably yielded a less than 1

skewness ratio, and that was why the ellipse does appear somewhat circular. Some empirical studies have also noted this strong northward migration tendency of the Jewish people (Bourne, 1973: 173-179), particularly along the Bathurst Street axis which has led them directly to the suburbs of York and North York (Figure 5).

On a first glance, the Italians appeared to follow the Jewish migration pattern going from the inner city to the suburbs. In practice, especially in 1951 and 1961 the direction and dispersion fields of both groups were markedly different (see Figures 12 and 13), though the two groups are thought to be kin oriented, highly segregated and to live in closely knit neighborhoods. During the 1950's, the mean centres of both groups were close together because most of the Italians clustered in the Eglinton/Dufferin and Lawrence/Dufferin area, 0.1 miles west of the Bathurst Street axis (see Figures 5 and 8).

The graphic display of the Italian distribution, in which the maximum number of its population is concentrated, indicates that an initial ellipse with an east-west direction occurred. Then the group made an abrupt 90-degree turn. And since 1961 the location pattern of the Italians has imitated the northeast

Figure 8 Ellipses of The Italians, 1951-1976



orientation of the Jewish pattern. The distance ratio of the major and minor axes in terms of its skewness ranged from 1.67 to 1.34, meaning that the ellipse changed into a more circular configuration. But its value was still far short of the compact pattern of the Jewish group (see Table 3).

Observing the movement of the mean centres of the subgroups in space over time in relation to the mean centre of the reference group is of considerable interest and value. It is realized that the deviation of the mean centre from that of the reference group (or spatial distance, see Table 2 and Footnote 3) can give only a rough estimate of assimilation, but it may be a tangible one. This single measure however does provide us some information on the spatial integration process. The latter may be an indicator of the first step of socioeconomic integration.

However, the different distances ratio between an ethnic group's centre and that of the British illustrates that most ethnic groups were inclined to keep separate from the reference group, except for the Germans and to a lesser extent the French (Table 2). The differences also indicate that the Jewish and the Italian people were the two most segregated groups. In reality, there should be some locational bias,

especially for the Italian group, because its conventional migration path is situated a bit west of the Jews'. Its spatial distance from the reference group is thus increased, and this trend will continue (Figure 5).

The close proximity of the Jewish and Italian groups in 1951 meant that both groups had a similar starting point. But whereas the Jews began their relocation to the fringes of North York via Forest Hill in 1951, the Italians stayed within the City limits. Only a decade later did the Italians start their first flight to the inner suburbs of York. By this time the Jews had already moved closer to the 401 Highway. The Jews moved much faster to the suburbs than the Italians and seem to have established a distinct suburban location pattern (Figure 5).

Despite the fact that the Italians are now the second most highly segregated ethnic group in this study, in the early 1950's they had a location pattern similar to that of the other groups, except for the Jewish group (Figure 12). After 1961, the angle of rotation of their ellipses however has ranged from 72 to 87 degrees and is now more easily distinguished from the Jewish group (Figure 13 and Table 3). Both groups have shown strong northeast movements.

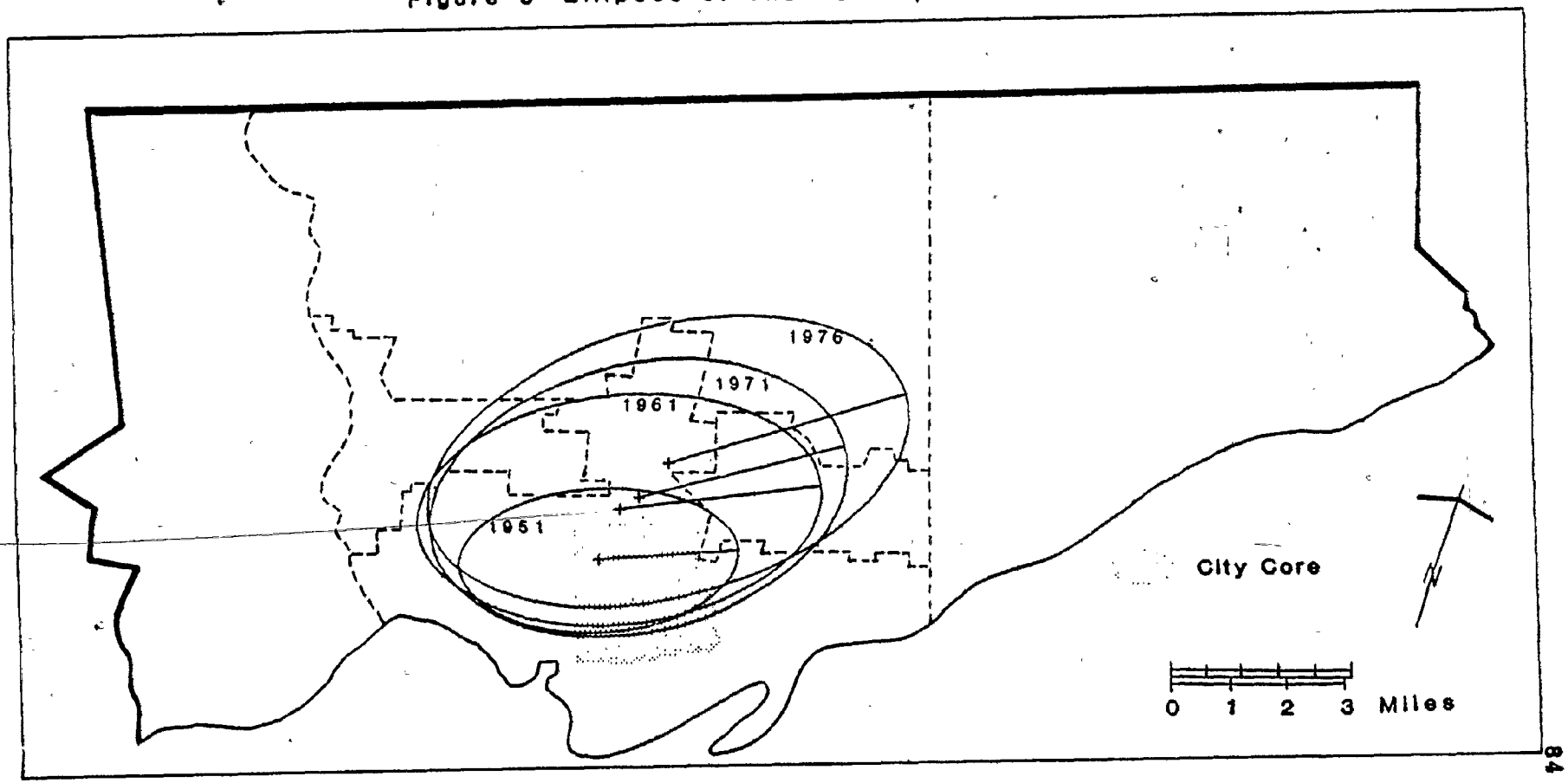
(3) Asians, Blacks and native Indians

In 1951, the Asian group was found to have a rather short standard radius (2.85 miles). It was only slightly longer than that of the Jewish group (Table 3). Its mean centre at the same time was closer to the city core than that of any other group (Figure 12). Over time the standard radius increased as extensive dispersion of the Asian population in Toronto followed (Figure 9). At the beginning, the migration path of the Asians was quite similar to those of the reference group, the Germans and the French. All moved along the Yonge Street axis perpendicular to the major east-west arteries of the City. Later, it shifted to the northeast direction pointing straight to the boroughs of North York and Scarborough (Figure 5).

The Asian category was the third most highly segregated group in Metro. At the outset, an approximate spatial distance of 1 mile was maintained between its centre of gravity and that of the reference group. The separation remained at 0.9 miles for the next two decades. More recently a distance of 1.4 miles was recorded (Table 2).

Customarily, the group's skewness ratios show that a less skewed ellipse will be perceived, but its ellipse

Figure 9 Ellipses of The Asians, 1951-1976



would be more elongated than that of the Italians. The graphic presentation of the Asians over time signified a strong communication with the downtown area. So far the group has been making its gentle shift to the east section of the city, and only Etobicoke has an insignificant number of this group (Figure 9).

Owing to the poor data and the ambiguous definition of some specific visible minorities in the census, comparison and analysis for the Blacks is tentative. The Asians were recognized as the third most highly segregated group over time, the Blacks the fourth, according to 1971 available information. A partial breakdown of the "other and unknown" ethnic category in this census, which included Negroes, West Indians and native Indians, was first identified.

Although the interpretation of the spatial living pattern of the Blacks is drawn from one census year only, it nevertheless suggests a diversity in the ethnic groups, one that contributes to Toronto's urban mosaic. It deserves more particular attention.

In 1971, the centre of the Black population was located on the German's path, with a distance of 1 mile from the British reference centre (see Figure 5 and Table 2). The 1.5 skewness ratio generated a linear ellipse which was less skewed than that of the

Italians and more skewed than that of the Asians and which meant that its major axis was longer than that of the Italians, but shorter slightly than that of the Asians (Figure 10). It seems hard to predict the Blacks' movement direction in 1976, though a crude assessment has been temporarily worked out.

Firstly, in the light of the group's 1971 distribution pattern, it could be assumed that this group would more or less imitate the reference trend in the near future. In other words, such odd behaviour as that of the Jewish and the Italian groups should not happen within this category. Consequently, its imaginary mean centre would still stay within the City limits as the reference group or the norm group's did, but certainly would not be lower than its original location. Naturally, this assumed centre neither approached the reference group's nor the German or the French group's because certain spatial segregation would be maintained and practically such a spatial separation would not be removed in such a short time period (from 1971 to 1976). Thus, the centre location might possibly (1) move directly northward from the original centre, (2) move northward along the previous minor axis (10 degrees northwest) or (3) move slightly westward from the (2) position (>10 degrees northwest). The ideal

2

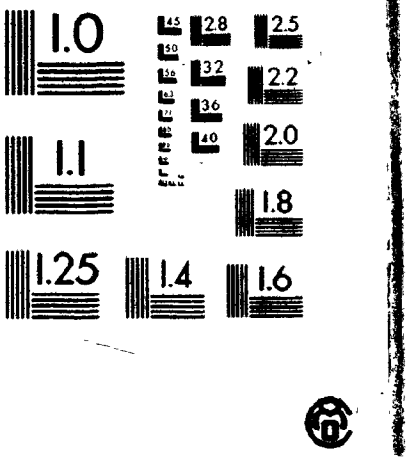
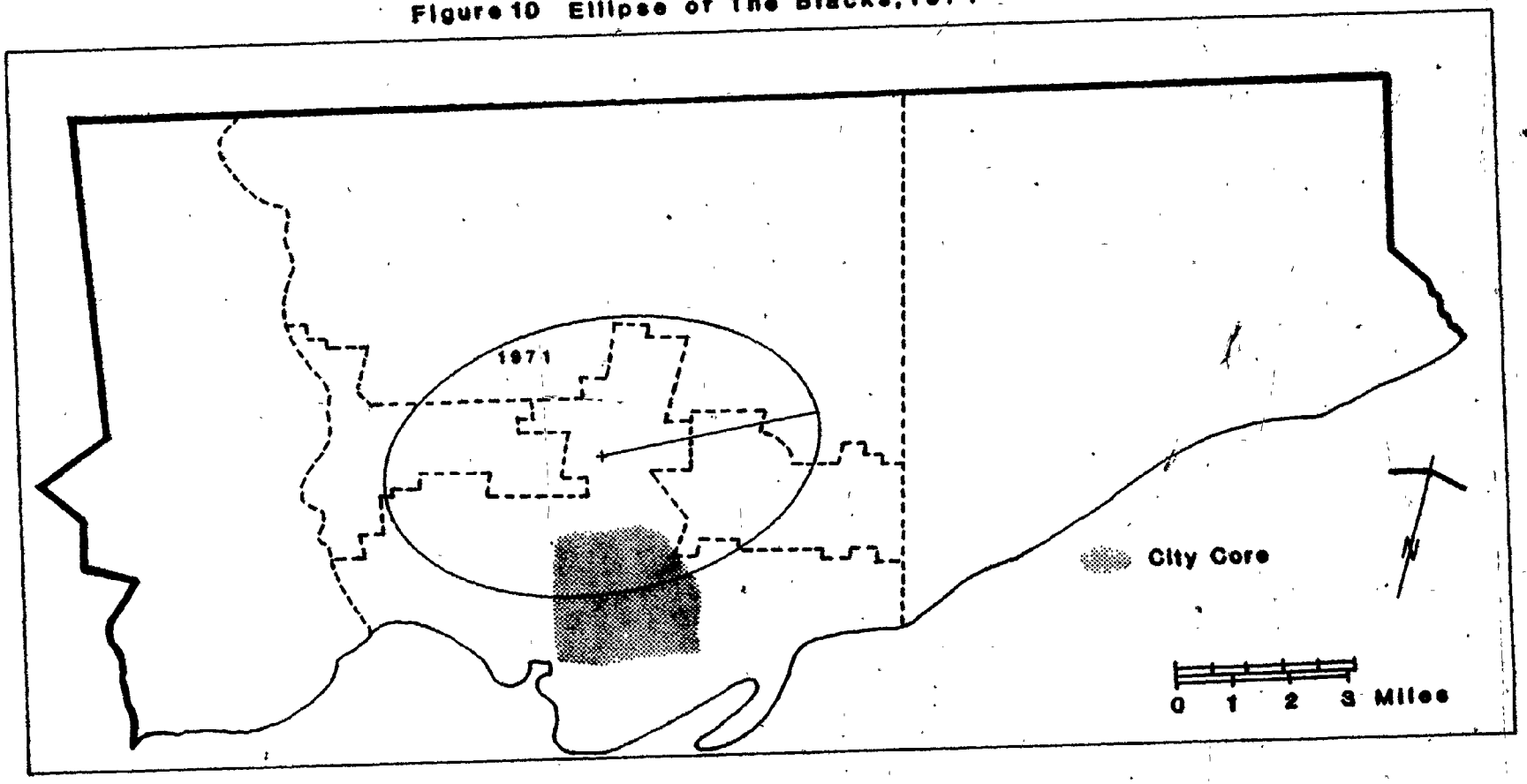


Figure 10 Ellipse of The Blacks, 1971

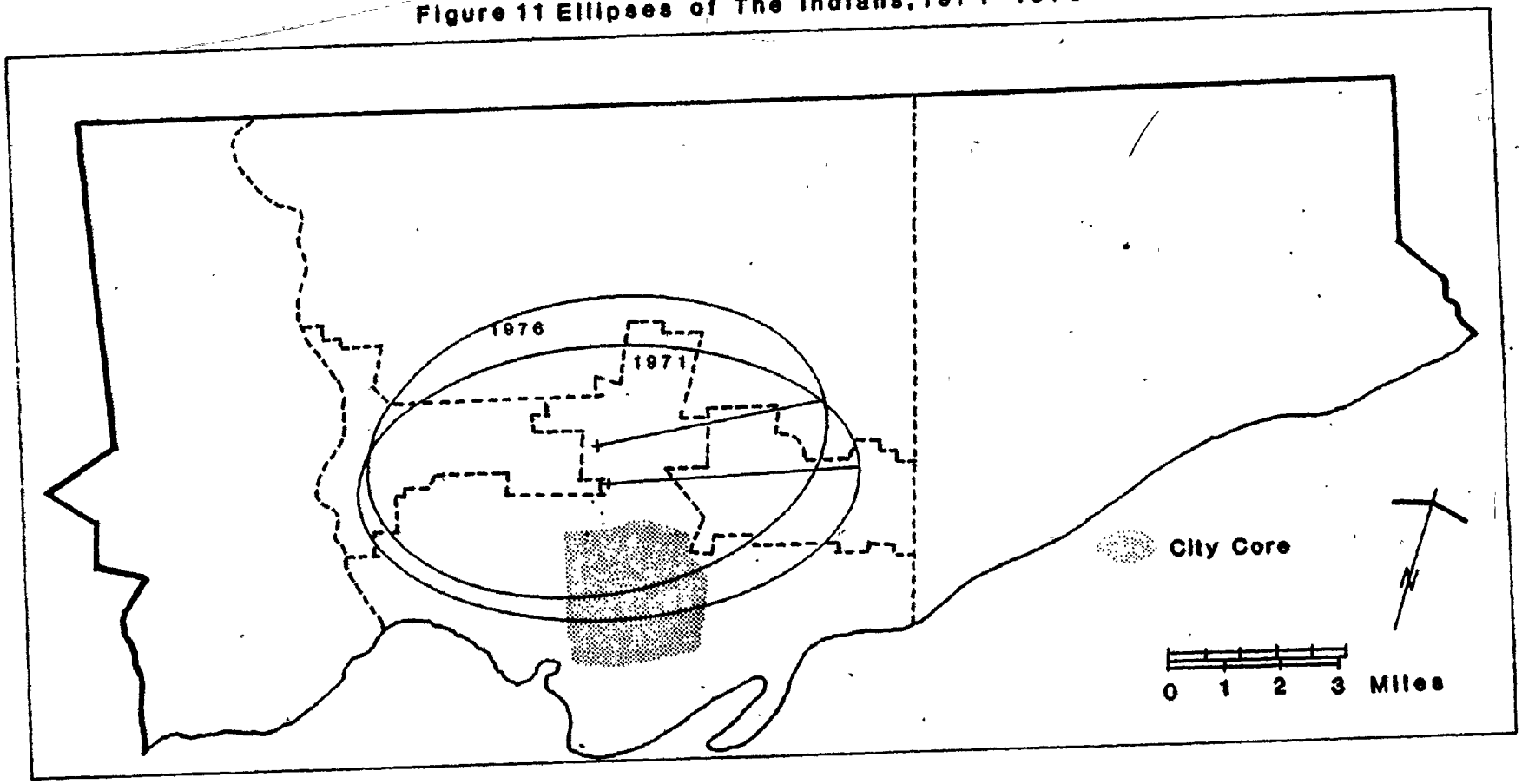


possible centre might be (3) simply because, proportionately, East York had the highest percentage of Black population, though the absolute number was less than North York's. The most important fact is that the City of Toronto contained almost 50% of the Black population, and its main concentration was clustered on the east of the Bathurst Street axis in the mid 1950's (Toronto City Planning Board, 1961: Figure D-11). It seems reasonable to conclude that the 1971-1976 migration path of the Blacks would be almost due northwest, but parallel and a bit farther north of that of the native Indians.

The 1971 centres of the Blacks and the native Indians were close to the centres of the British reference group and the German and the French groups. The location differences as well as the spatial distance relative to the centre of the reference group apparently indicated that spatial segregation still remained, even though the native Indians might be the least concentrated group compared to the Jewish, the Italian, the Asian and the Black populations in Metro (Figure 14).

In 1971, the native Indians displayed a nearly horizontal dispersion pattern (Figure 11). The pull of the population came from the east boroughs of East York,

Figure 11 Ellipses of The Indians, 1971-1976



North York and Scarborough, and west boroughs of York boroughs of York and Etobicoke were almost equal. The shorter major axis in 1976 undoubtedly presents a somewhat less skewed ellipse, suggesting that this group tended to become more concentrated than before. It had also shifted in a northwest distribution direction due to a heavier concentration of Indians in North York and Etobicoke. On the whole, both the dispersion patterns of the native Indians and the Blacks are similar.

4. SUMMARY

The application of centrographic technique in analyzing urban ethnic populations and their spatial distributions over time provides good visual overviews and effective comparisons. The conclusions which one can draw from the the measures indicate that most ethnic groups were consistent in the direction of their movement over time. However, the Jewish and Italian groups were two special cases. Particularly the Jewish group moved in a different direction and had the most pronounced, cohesive group behaviour over time.

From the previous pages one can see that the spatial integration process is progressing for all groups except the Jewish population (compare Figures 12,

13, 14 and 15). Though the relative spatial distances (Table 2) for most of the groups remained almost constant over time, they were accompanied by areal bias, as demonstrated by the Italian and Jewish groups (Figure 5). Other groups however followed the same direction in their spread through Toronto as the British reference group. In terms of the movement of their mean centres or the shape of their distribution patterns, the Germans and the French are said to be integrated spatially with the reference group. The Germans were even more so than the French.

Visible minorities exhibited some patterns which were for some years striking. This probably is due both to their aggregate character in the census definition and the incomplete data source. However, the spatial distributions of the Asians do show consistent patterns over time in spite of their aggregate nature. But the spatial patterns of the Blacks and the Indians appear ambiguous because of the unavailability of data.

No one can deny that spatial segregation is highly correlated with social and economic divergence, and thus the next chapter will put its emphasis solely on investigating socioeconomic differences among ethnic groups in Metropolitan Toronto.

Figure 12 Ellipses of Six Groups-1951

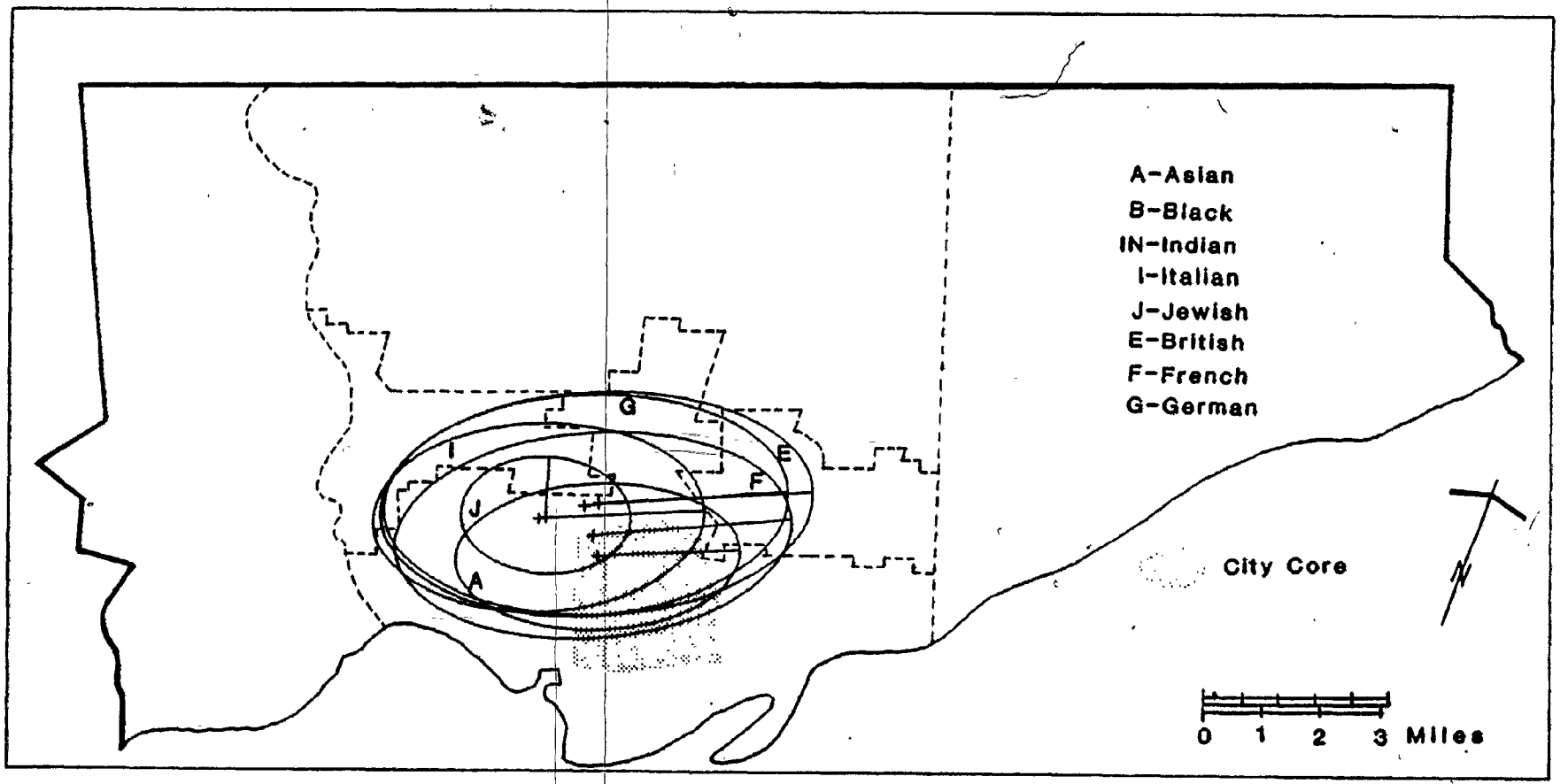


Figure 13 Ellipses of Six Groups-1961

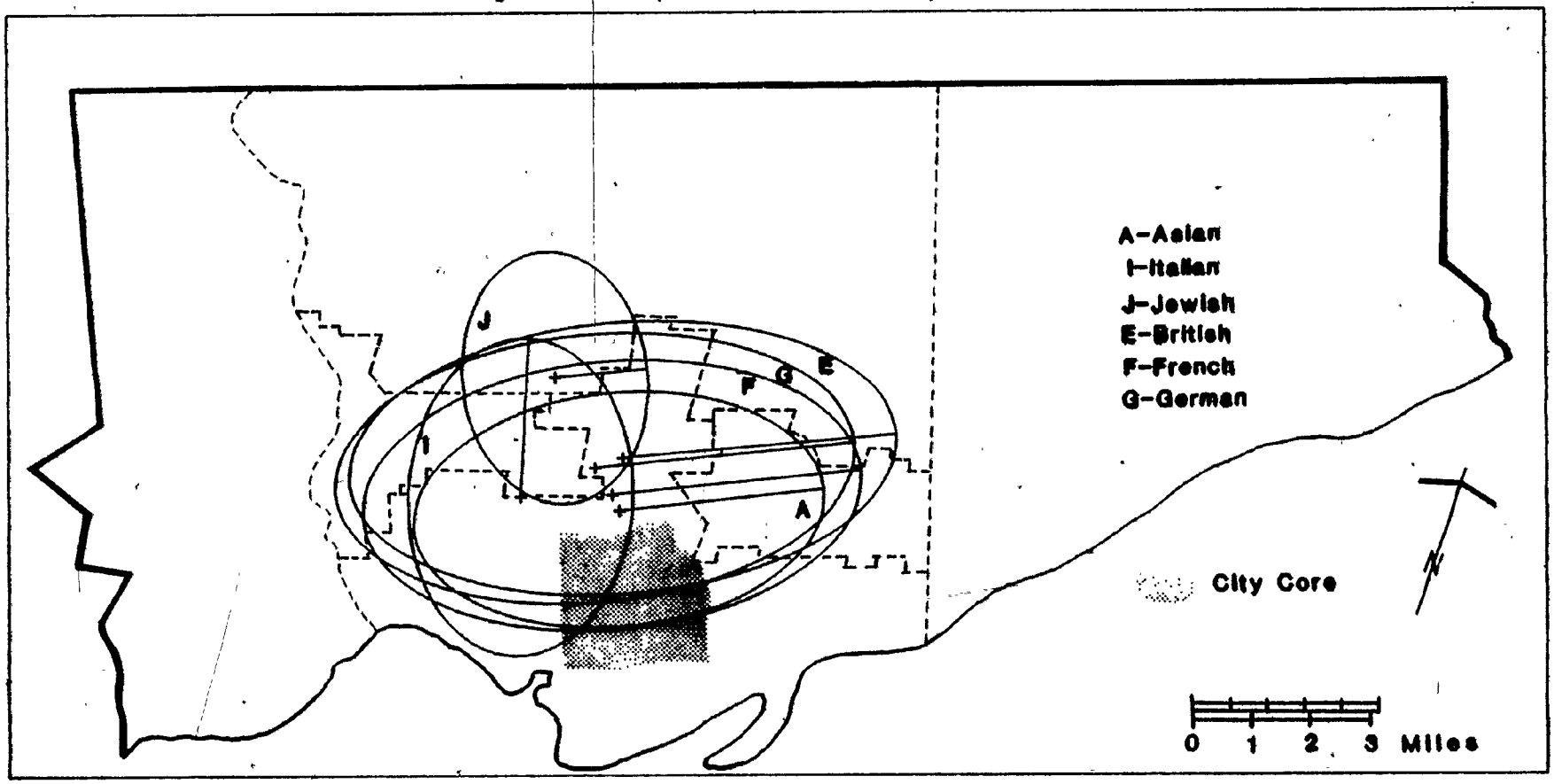


Figure 12 Ellipses of Eight Groups-1971

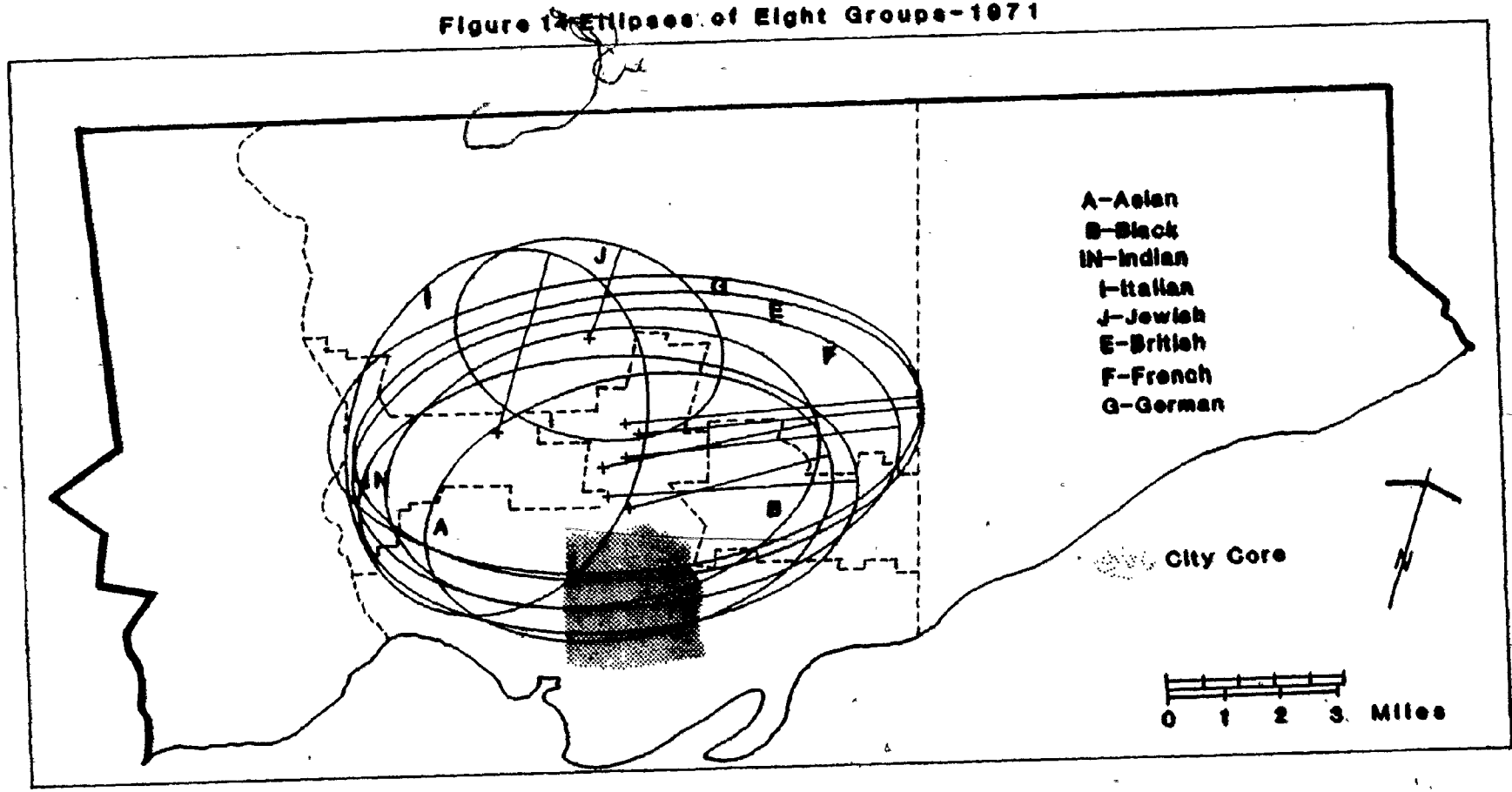
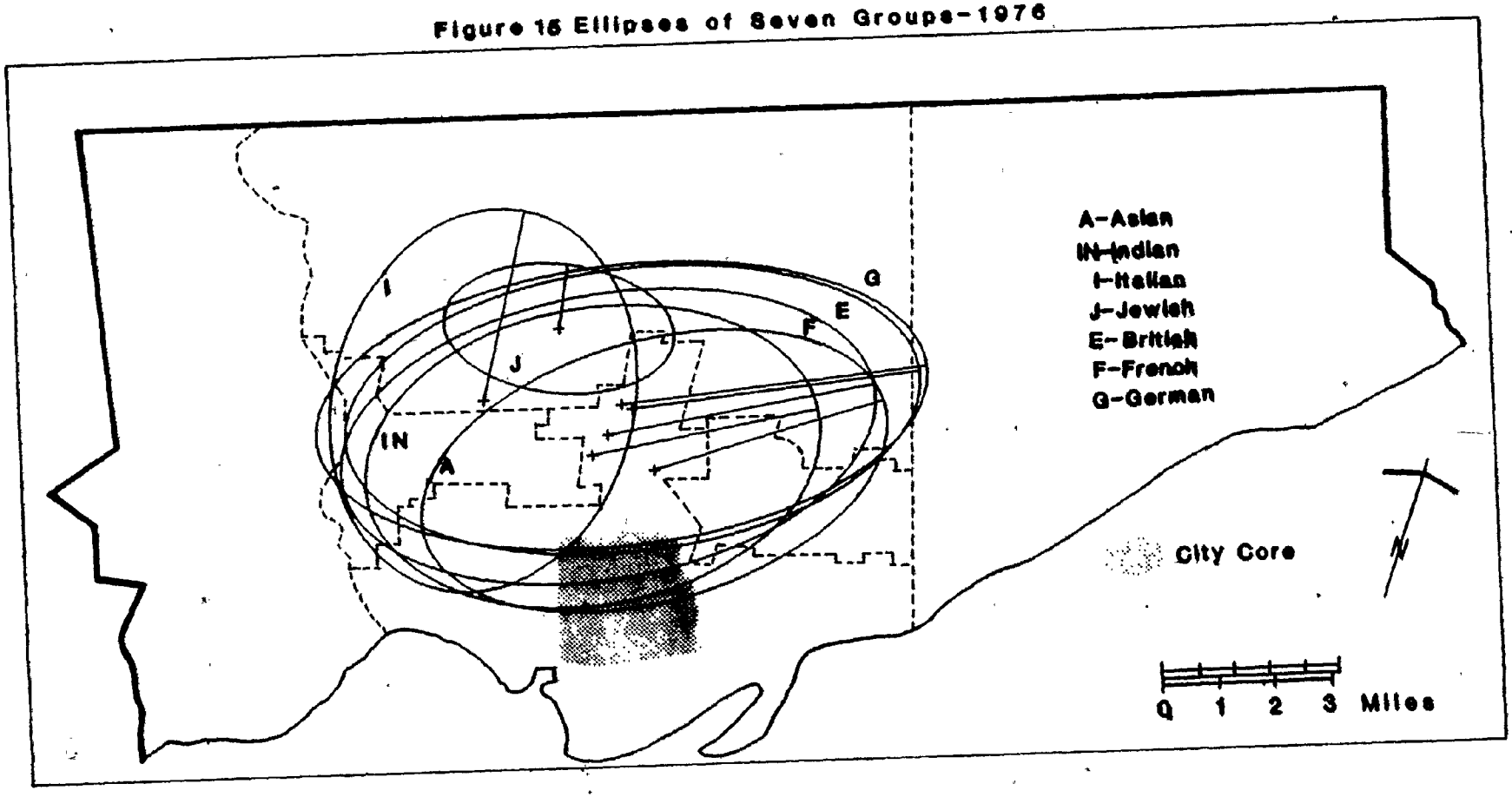


Figure 16 Ellipses of Seven Groups–1976



Footnotes:

1. Ebdon (1979: 113-118) calculates this angle slightly different. He does it as follows:

   to transpose the coordinate system:

   $$X' = X - \bar{X}$$

   $$Y' = Y - \bar{Y}$$

   to calculate the declination angle θ or $90^{\circ} - a$:

   $$\tan \theta = (\Sigma X'^2 - \Sigma Y'^2) + \sqrt{(\Sigma X'^2 - \Sigma Y'^2) + 4 (\Sigma X'Y')^2} / 2\Sigma X'Y'$$

   to calculate the standard deviation along the X and Y axes of the ellipse:

   $$\sigma_x = \sqrt{\Sigma (X'\cos \theta - Y'\sin \theta)^2/n}$$

   $$\sigma_y = \sqrt{\Sigma (X'\sin \theta + Y'\cos \theta)^2/n}$$

   for faster calculation:

   $$\sigma_x = \sqrt{(\Sigma X'^2)\cos^2\theta - 2(\Sigma X'Y')\sin \theta \cos \theta + (\Sigma Y'^2)\sin^2\theta/n}$$

   $$\sigma_y = \sqrt{(\Sigma X'^2)\sin^2\theta + 2(\Sigma X'Y')\sin \theta \cos \theta + (\Sigma Y'^2)\cos^2\theta/n}$$

2. According to Matwijiw (1979: 46) and Lee (1967: 70), spatial segregation refers to the physical separation of ethnic groups.
3. Relative distance between the reference centre and the centre of a specific group.
4. The use of data on mother tongue for all ethnic groups studied showed consistent results.

CHAPTER IV

THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIOECONOMIC DIVERGENCES AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS

1. INTRODUCTION

In order to elaborate ethnic differences further, data on overall socioeconomic differences are presented next. Subsequently, attention will concentrate on examining and analyzing these differences among ethnic groups and especially in relation to the British reference group using the Analysis of Variance and Difference of Mean tests. It is anticipated that these statistical results will show a notable c-p relationship among groups. Centrographic measures for various income-groups will be applied to expound relationships between social divergences and spatial variations of groups. Moreover, a number of hypotheses concerning the integration processes among ethnic groups will be tested.

All empirical analyses in the study are based primarily on a special run of the 1971 census which provided ethnic areal information for planning regions.[1] Socioeconomic variables such as income, education,

occupation, mother tongue and the like were obtained from the special tabulations for 8 specific ethnic groups and 53 planning regions making up Metropolitan Toronto (Figure 16). While there is a vast data base not all information was equally significant for the purposes of this study. Consequently, a data-sorting procedure was carefully conducted in order that extreme redundancies were eliminated and appropriate and representative collections of variables relevant to the current hypotheses were singled out.

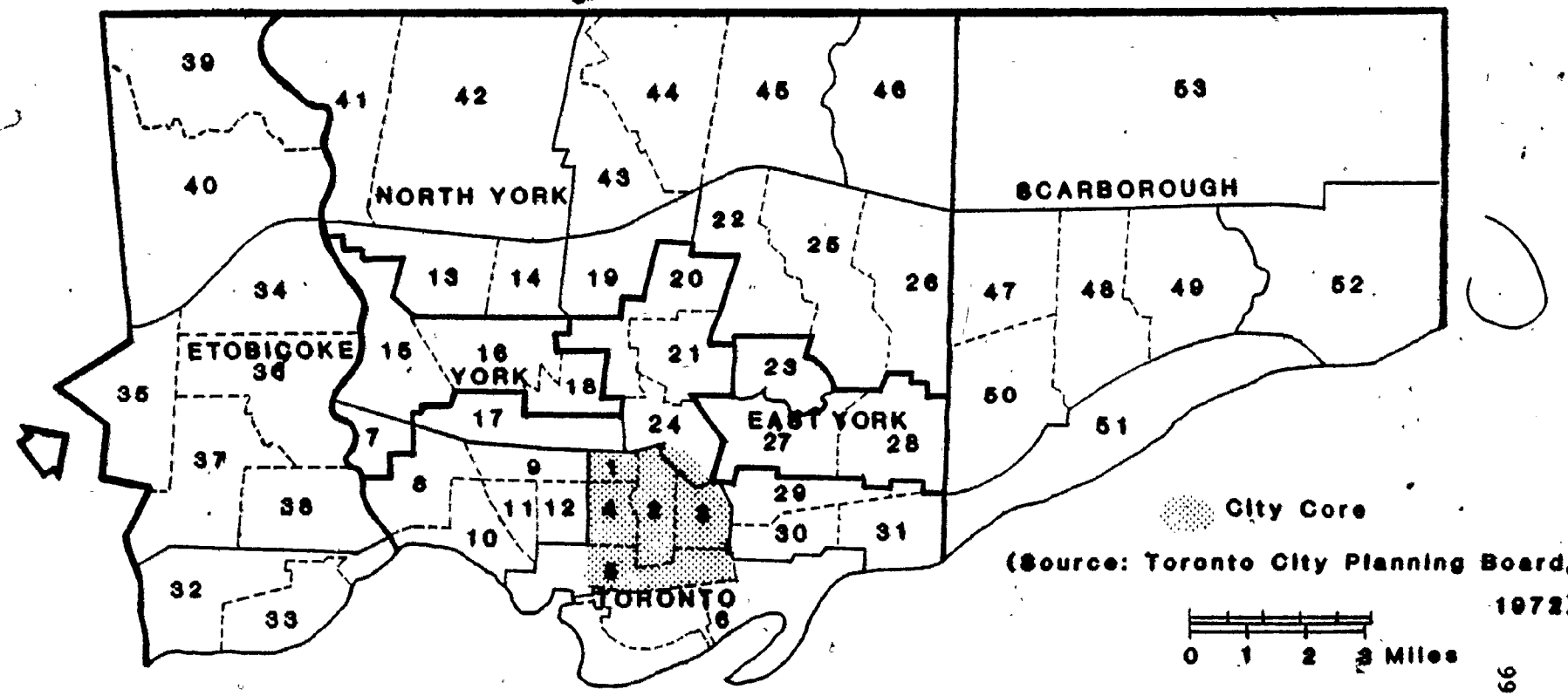
In the following section, a separate discussion of each socioeconomic variable for all groups is made.

2. OVERALL ETHNIC DIFFERENTIALS THROUGHOUT METRO

a) Income

Though income alone cannot be considered a complete representation of the social condition of people, other important variables being education, occupation, mother tongue and so on, this variable has long been accepted as a crucial economic indicator of social status especially in Western industrial urban society (Kalbach and McVey, 1979: 302).

Figure 16 Metropolitan Toronto Planning Regions, 1971



When the overall average income figures and the average of a specific cohort group (here defined as aged 25 to 39)[2] were tabulated for the whole metropolitan area, the relationship between ethnicity and social status was revealed. Table 1 summarizes the average labour force income by ethnicity in Metro Toronto.

It was surprising that the all-age group and the cohort group of each ethnic group had almost identical income index values when compared to the British. Overall, ethnic backgrounds seems to play a significant role in average income as a percent of the British income. This was particularly true in the visible minority groups.

On the whole, the British or reference group was higher than five out of seven other ethnic groups. It was the Jewish group that earned the highest average incomes ($7,890 and $9,508), and exceeded those of the British by 29 and 34 percent. The Germans ranked second ($6,521 and $7,398) and earned 7 and 4 percent more than the British. The French ($5,527 and $6,398) were third but behind the British. The Italians then ranked fifth. For the visible minorities, the native Indians had the lowest average incomes of $4,431 and $5,015, closely followed by the Blacks ($4,986 and $5,261) and the Asians ($5,097 and $5,865). It would be hard to deny

TABLE IV-1

AVERAGE INCOME IN METRO TORONTO, 1971

	ALL AGE-GROUP	INDEX[a]	COHORT GROUP[b]	INDEX[a]
BRITISH	6,101	(100)	7,110	(100)
GERMAN	6,521	(107)	7,398	(104)
FRENCH	5,527	(91)	6,398	(90)
ITALIAN	5,298	(87)	6,093	(86)
JEWISH	7,890	(129)	9,508	(134)
ASIAN	5,097	(84)	5,865	(83)
BLACK	4,986	(82)	5,261	(74)
INDIAN	4,431	(73)	5,015	(71)

[a] THE REFERENCE GROUP (BRITISH) WAS GIVEN A VALUE OF 100 AND ALL OTHER GROUPS WOULD RELATE TO THIS GROUP.

[b] DEFINED AS AGED 25 TO 39.

SOURCE: 1971 SPECIAL COMPUTER TAPE DATA.

that at least part of this difference is due to social discrimination although other socioeconomic factors most likely also play a part.

b) Education

Education is also frequently used to measure socioeconomic well being and is generally measured in terms of the number of years (grades) of formal education. It is a reasonable inference that the level of schooling has an important bearing on social standing in society and is directly related to higher income, better skills, fluency in English, freedom of employment and absorption into the wider society (Kalbach and McVey, 1979: 256-259).

The proportion of elementary and university education was again used to show differences (Table 2). Large variation between ethnic origins in terms of their educational achievement can be seen. Having high education means that ethnic groups might form part of managerial, professional groups, and thus influence the dominant segment of the society in its decision-making processes. Having low educational attainment suggested that a group might be placed in a potentially vulnerable position vis-a-vis the dominant society or other ethnic minorities (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 181-182).

TABLE IV-2

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN METRO TORONTO, 1971 (PERCENTAGE)

	ALL-AGE GROUP		COHORT GROUP[a]	
	SOME UNIVERSITY	ONLY ELEMENTARY	SOME UNIVERSITY	ONLY ELEMENTARY
BRITISH	22.2	17.1	36.3	2.0
GERMAN	29.8	16.7	45.7	1.4
FRENCH	18.9	21.0	28.2	5.5
ITALIAN	6.4	52.4	9.4	48.9
JEWISH	28.0	15.6	56.4	1.5
ASIAN	30.2	22.1	51.3	6.9
BLACK	30.4	17.9	45.8	2.0
INDIAN	14.8	23.6	21.1	11.5

[a] DEFINED AS AGED 25 TO 39.

SOURCE: 1971 SPECIAL COMPUTER TAPE DATA.

The overall picture of ethnic differentials for all age group and cohort group (aged 25 to 39) in two education levels throughout Metro is illustrated in Table 2. Very noteworthy is the high proportion (30.4 and 30.2%) of the visible minorities, particularly the Blacks and the Asians, who reported having some university or college education. They were followed by the Germans, the Jews, the British and the French with proportions of 29.8, 28.0, 22.2 and 18.9 respectively. The native Indians and the Italians were found at the bottom of the scale (14.8 and 6.4%). Not surprisingly, they were also found at top positions of the low educational attainment (23.6 and 52.4%). Extraordinarily striking was the Italian group because over 50% of its members in Metro had only elementary education.

Secondly, the cohort group represents a specific example (the prime work period) of the overall picture. Here a larger proportion in high education and a smaller proportion in low education were expected. However, trends in both educational levels between two age categories were quite similar. The Jewish cohort had the highest proportion (56.4%) of any groups having some university education. The Asians (51.3%), the Blacks (45.8%), the Germans (45.7%) and the British (36.3%)

then followed. The Italians and native Indians still remained at the bottom of the scale.

In elementary education, the reversed situation also held for the Italians and the native Indians. Though their persistence in low educational attainment was very much the same, the causes which resulted in this educational stagnation are thought to be different. For the former, this might be due to their sponsored basis of recent immigration; and for the latter, this might be due to long historical conditions and locational isolation.

It has been common knowledge that the Jews have usually occupied the top position in higher educational levels in Metro and in Canada as a whole (Reitz, 1980: 150-152). The remarkable over representations of the Asians and the Blacks in high educational attainment probably reflects recent immigration policy which is selective according to education quality. The points system allocates a maximum of 20% to education. The extreme low representation of the Italians in university education is probably due to the pre-1967 immigration policy of allowing well-established immigrants to bring relatives to Canada without any consideration of their educational and occupational qualifications (Kalbach and McVey, 1979: 259). The Italians were the last major

immigrant group to come to Canada under the old immigration laws.

c) Occupation

It is difficult to interpret the significance of occupational differences between ethnic groups without considering the possible effects of educational level, period of immigration, English language capability and so forth. The connection between ethnicity and occupation in practice reflects many factors other than actual differences in values and attitudes towards jobs. As Porter has stated there are strong class associations between ethnic origin and occupational status in Canada (Porter, 1965: chapter 3). Therefore, the exploration of ethnic groups' occupational status in Metro would undoubtedly provide insight into the existing stratification system of the metropolitan structure.

In terms of occupational classification, four main categories were selected. There were high-income categories of managerial, professional and technical workers on the one hand,[3] and low-income skilled workers and unskilled labourers on the other.[4] Furthermore, the selected average income figures for each categories were also examined.

According to the norm of the dominant society, the British of course should have a higher proportion of higher-status jobs than other ethnic groups. When inspecting the overall picture of labour force in Metro (Table 3), it can be seen that though the proportion of Asians (42.4%) was twice that of the British in professional and technical occupations, the total in the white-collar grouping of the British (65.4%) in fact exceeded that of all other groups. In terms of economic integration in high-status job, the Germans (61.2%) and the Jews (58.9%) were remarkably similar to the British due to their approximate proportions in both managerial and professional categories.

Managerial occupation usually referred to owners and proprietors of large and small businesses (Richmond, 1967b: 18). Thus, the British (44.7%), the Germans (39.8%), the Jews (39.7%) and the French (37%) were highly represented in this category. Surprisingly enough, the Italian group had a much higher proportion (30.4%) than that of the Asians (17.9%). This may relate to their high representation in small construction businesses (Richmond, 1967b: 26; Reitz, 1980: 77). In the white-collar grouping, although the Asians ranked second after the British, they showed an imbalance in high-status jobs because almost half of

TABLE IV-3

LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATION IN METRO TORONTO, 1971 (PERCENTAGE)

	WHITE-COLLAR			BLUE-COLLAR		
	MANAGERIAL	PROFESSIONAL	TOTAL	SKILLED	UNSKILLED	TOTAL
BRITISH	44.7	20.7	65.4	7.0	8.5	15.5
GERMAN	39.8	21.4	61.2	10.2	6.6	16.8
FRENCH	37.0	19.6	56.6	8.7	9.7	18.4
ITALIAN	30.4	10.8	41.2	29.6	12.1	41.7
JEWISH	39.7	19.2	58.9	5.9	6.1	12.0
ASIAN	17.9	42.4	60.3	11.9	6.2	18.1
BLACK	5.0	35.0	40.0	11.8	7.9	19.7
INDIAN[a]	60.0	0.0	60.0	17.4	8.4	25.8

[a] THE READER SHOULD BE REMINDED THAT IN TOTAL THERE WERE ONLY 5,000 NATIVE INDIANS IN METRO TORONTO.

SOURCE: 1971 SPECIAL COMPUTER TAPE DATA.

them were concentrated in the professional and technical occupations. They were however under represented in managerial jobs. This could imply that the group encountered considerable resistance in the administrative/decision making job opportunity areas. The exaggerated over-representations of the native Indians (60% and 0%) in both the managerial and professional categories can not be explained. It may be due to their small population (about 5,000 people) in Metro or due to their long tradition in low-status occupations and low level of education.

In the blue-collar grouping, the Italians were heavily over represented and should receive special attention. Nearly 30% of their labour force was in processing and construction jobs. The labour category also had the largest proportion (12.1%) of Italians, showing that over 40% of them were concentrated in low-status, low-income jobs (Table 3). In the manufacturing category, while the Jews, the British and the French were under represented, the visible minorities were always slightly over represented. But in the labour category, the Jews, the Asians and the Germans also had smaller proportions than those of the Blacks, the native Indians and the British.

As the selected average incomes for some occupational categories were scrutinized more closely, the Jews were found at the top of economic ladder in both managerial and some professional jobs (Table 4). A close look at the breakdown of professional and technical sub-categories [5] showed the British (the charter group) did earn more than the Jews in natural and social sciences and related fields (Table 4). The Jews on the other hand earned the highest average income ($9,492) in medical occupations which actually raised their average income in the whole professional category ($7,303). According to overall average income figures, the Jews seemed to be occupationally segregated especially in medicine and in trade (Reitz, 1980: 181).

In Metro, ethnic inequalities in both income and job status were particularly so for the visible minorities and the Italians. For instance, the visible minorities, even though they were in high-status jobs, appeared to have less income than other groups. High representations in professional and technical jobs, of both the Asians and the Blacks, seemed to be due to their high educational levels. It was discovered that though the Asians ranked next in percent to the Jews in medical fields, they earned $3,000 less than the Jews. The Blacks were clustered in social science and medical

TABLE IV-4

AVERAGE INCOME FIGURES FOR SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IN METRO TORONTO, 1971

	MANAGERIAL	AV.PRO[a]	SELEC.PRO[b]			SKILLED	UNSKILLED
			NAT.	SOC.	MED.		
BRITISH	13,949	7,144	9,437	7,632	5,232	7,369	5,482
GERMAN	14,169	6,838	9,209	7,200	5,098	8,276	5,843
FRENCH	12,265	6,475	8,292	7,720	4,322	6,901	5,583
ITALIAN	12,850	5,556	7,237	7,476	4,406	6,425	4,744
JEWISH	18,400	7,303	8,663	6,347	9,492	7,517	4,333
ASIAN	10,811	5,761	7,991	6,247	6,328	6,865	4,579
BLACK	7,110	6,492	6,761	7,200	5,181	6,024	4,225
INDIAN	9,205	5,286	6,682	3,183	4,655	5,683	4,577

[a] AVERAGE INCOME FOR THE WHOLE PROFESSIONAL CATEGORY.

[b] SELECTIVE PROFESSIONAL CATEGORY INCLUDED NATURAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES AND MEDICAL FIELDS.

SOURCE: 1971 SPECIAL COMPUTER TAPE DATA.

sub-categories, and their situation was quite similar to that of the Asians. In the low-status jobs, the native Indians, the Blacks and the Italians were often found at the bottom of the income ladder. It seemed that income inequality between ethnic groups was less severe than job status inequality. Italians, Asians and native Indians earned more in manufacturing than in professional jobs.

d) Immigration period

The selection of the post-war immigration period in terms of various points of entry to evaluate specific ethnic differentials became essential. The whole picture for immigration will be vague if comparisons are just made between immigrants on the broad basis of pre-war and post-war classifications. Although rough changes can be seen in terms of increases or decreases, they tell us virtually nothing about sequential changes of specific groups. Hence, it is necessary to make comparisons between pre-war and post-war periods in terms of particular points of time for those immigrant groups.

Owing to data limitation, the following sample, which represented a low-income immigrant grouping

(average income less than $2,000), was chosen (Table 5). This partial picture, however, not only reflected some common characteristics for typical immigrants such as the Asians, the Blacks and the Italians in Metro but also reflected the wavering immigration policies affecting these groups. Immigrants from Asian countries, who comprised about 9% during 1946-1955, increased their proportion to 16% for the 1956-1964 period and to 52% for the 1965-1971 period. Immigrants from African countries and the West Indies increased from 4% to 12% and 83% for the same period respectively (Table 5). It is evident that both the Asians and the West Indians had remarkable high increases in the recent 1965-1971 period. The period from 1956-1964 was the climax of post-war Italian immigration, during which, because of the sponsorship system, huge numbers of immigrants with low educational qualifications were admitted; since then their relative dominance in the immigration stream has declined substantially. The German group, who came earlier than the Italians, was one of the older established groups in Metro. In addition to the Germans, the British, the Jews and the French displayed relatively stable patterns. Moreover, the constant increase of the French immigrants seemed misleading because the proportion of overseas immigrants

TABLE IV-5

METRO TORONTO IMMIGRATION PERIODS [a]

	PRE-WAR IMMIGRATION	POST-WAR IMMIGRATION			
	TOTAL	46-55	56-64	65-71	TOTAL
BRITISH	57.6	14.6	13.3	14.3	42.2
GERMAN	13.2	42.8	30.5	13.2	86.5
FRENCH	28.9	20.1	20.1	27.7	67.9
ITALIAN	7.4	23.2	43.5	25.8	92.5
JEWISH	47.8	22.3	17.3	12.7	52.3
ASIAN	22.7	9.0	16.1	52.8	77.9
BLACK	3.3	4.2	12.1	83.6	100.0
INDIAN	9.0	9.1	18.2	52.3	79.6

[a] FOR IMMIGRANTS IN LOW AVERAGE INCOME (LESS THAN $2,000) ONLY.

SOURCE: 1971 SPECIAL COMPUTER TAPE DATA.

of French origin has remained small throughout (Richmond, 1967b: 41). It might refers to migrants from Quebec, but no indication is given in the special computer tape data. At the same time, the appearance of the native Indian group in this data is curious. It may represent migrants from the reserves rather than immigrants from abroad, although it could mean they came from the U.S.

e) English fluency

English language ability is an important factor in segregation or concentration of particular ethnic groups in a city. In other words, mother tongue and English fluency are closely linked to ethnic residential distribution in Metro Toronto.

The proportion of households that speak English instead of the mother tongue is normally a meaningful cultural characteristic to analyze (Table 6). However, in the case of the Black population, the proportion that spoke English at home (98%) was quite similar to that in the British homes (99%). In part this is not surprising as most of the Blacks came from the U.S. and the West Indies and had English as their mother tongue. The native Indian (87%), the Jewish (86%), the French (81%)

TABLE IV-6

ENGLISH FLUENCY AND SELF-EMPLOYED BUSINESS IN METRO TORONTO, 1971[a]

	ENGLISH FLUENCY		SELF-EMPLOYED BUSINESS	
	ENGLISH	MOTHER TONGUE	HIGH-INCOME[b]	LOW-INCOME[c]
BRITISH	99.5	0.2	0.4	1.1
GERMAN	75.1	22.9	0.2	1.8
FRENCH	81.4	0.3	0.2	1.0
ITALIAN	28.7	66.8	0.2	1.8
JEWISH	86.1	9.7	2.4	2.4
ASIAN	42.0	52.2	0.4	1.4
BLACK	98.7	0.6	0.0	0.8
INDIAN	87.1	10.3	0.2	0.8

[a] THIS TABLE INCLUDED TWO DIFFERENT SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES.

[b] HIGH AVERAGE INCOME (OVER $15,000).

[c] LOW AVERAGE INCOME (LESS THAN $2,000).

SOURCE: 1971 SPECIAL COMPUTER TAPE DATA.

and the German (75%) groups all had high proportions of English spoken at home. The French in Toronto seemed to have been easily integrated into the norm group because only a low proportion spoke French at home (0.3%). On the other hand a relatively high proportion of Germans continued speaking German at home (22.9%). The relatively low proportions of English speakers and high proportions of mother tongue speakers in both the Italian and Asian groups might partly be attributed to their recent immigrant status, and partly to their strong linguistic retention desires.

f) Self-employed business

It is believed that this particular variable will be very sensitive to a group's cohesiveness. Both the high and low self-employed income sub-categories are selected in an attempt to see how important this variable was for specific ethnic groups (Table 6).

For the Jewish group the similar proportions (2.4%) of business people in both self-employed categories suggest that the group's economic compability was substantial, and so was its strong group cohesiveness. The Italians and the Asians had their larger proportions (1.8 and 1.4%) in low self-employed businesses and thus

showed their limited economic strength. This was certainly true when one took the recentness of their immigration and their average incomes into account. However, the relationship between group solidarity and self-employed business among all three ethnic categories was recognized.

3. STATISTICAL EVALUATION OF ETHNIC-SOCIOECONOMIC DIFFERENCES

In this section, the Analysis of Variance and Difference of Mean tests are chosen as statistical tools to measure the extent of socioeconomic differences among ethnic groups. In order to meet the criteria of the analysis, and to facilitate the computation procedures, transformation of the raw data into a ratio scale was indispensable.

In the present study, six socioeconomic variables in terms of 12 sub-categories were selected for the Analysis of Variance. These variables are income, education, occupation, immigration period, mother tongue and self-employed business. Each proportion thus represents an individual total ethnic population's share of a particular socioeconomic measurement for each of the 53 planning regions.

The first test involves the Analysis of Variance and the F test. Its logic depends mainly upon a comparison of the variation in the data between groups, as measured by differences between the sample means and the variation within groups. In brief, the test tries to find out whether there is more variation between samples than within samples.[6] If the null hypothesis (no difference) is correct, the F ratio, which involves a comparison of the two separate estimates of the population variance, should be approximately unity (Blalock, 1960: 317-328; Silk, 1979: 173-179).

The significance of differences between socioeconomic characteristics and ethnic groups as a whole, has first been examined by an Analysis of Variance. The results are presented in Table 7. For the 8 ethnic groups, significant F values were found for all 12 socioeconomic variables, reflecting strong differences between the groups.

Though these relationships are said to be statistically significant in explaining ethnic differentials throughout Metro, they only outline a very sketchy picture of the ethnicity components because we know nothing about whether an individual group or combined groups will be responsible for that significant variation. In principle, it is inferred that the F test

TABLE IV-7

RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE (F TEST)

SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES		ETHNIC GROUPS		
		EST. OF VARIANCE[a]	D. OF FREEDOM[b]	F RATIO
1.H-INCOME	(BET. GROUP)[c]	17318.7	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)[d]	1843.4	416	9.395*
2.L-INCOME	(BET. GROUP)	48337.7	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)	6260.6	416	7.721*
3.H-EDUCATION	(BET. GROUP)	358691.0	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)	12825.7	416	27.967*
4.L-EDUCATION	(BET. GROUP)	446127.0	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)	7730.2	416	57.712*
5.MANAGERIAL	(BET. GROUP)	791182.0	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)	49436.5	416	16.004*
6.PROFESSIONAL	(BET. GROUP)	411586.0	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)	65213.0	416	6.311*
7.SKILLED	(BET. GROUP)	192510.0	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)	13551.5	416	14.206*
8.UNSKILLED	(BET. GROUP)	28523.0	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)	8557.6	416	3.341*
9.ENGLISH	(BET. GROUP)	0.217380E 07	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)	16 55.1	416	133.730*
10.MOTHER TONGUE	(BET. GROUP)	0.216774E 07	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)	9495.5	416	288.291*
11.IMMIGRATION-71	(BET. GROUP)	0.248684E 07	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)	115918.0	416	21.454*
12.H SELF-EMPLOYED BUSINESS	(BET. GROUP)	1160.2	7	
	(WIT. GROUP)	242.4	416	4.786*

[a] ESTIMATE OF VARIANCE.

[b] DEGREE OF FREEDOM.

[c] VALUE BETWEEN GROUPS.

[d] VALUE WITHIN GROUPS.

* 0.05 SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL.

SOURCE: 1971 SPECIAL COMPUTER TAPE DATA.

may yield significant results primarily because one group is far out of line with the others; had this group been excluded, the conclusion might have been quite different (Blalock, 1960: 329). Therefore, if we want the ethnic component to stand out, it appears quite logical to isolate one or two groups which are thought to be the categories that most contribute to the difference picture. If this separation procedure is able to reduce the F ratio substantially but still leave it at a significant level, continuous experiment will go on until the F ratio becomes insignificant. For larger F ratios, perhaps it is a tedious task to determine which group is supposed to have the greatest chance of diminishing the F ratio considerably, because there is no consistent hint from the sample means even if they are ranked. Ordinarily, the group with the largest or smallest standard deviation will be chosen, but when that choice works, it is probably a coincidence, even though the group having the largest standard deviation and also the highest mean usually can lessen the F value to a certain extent.

Because the F ratio test can only provide one combined-group outcome for each socioeconomic variable (Table 7) and because this summary outcome cannot provide more detailed ethnic information, the t test for

two independent samples in terms of the norm group versus a specific group was used. The results are given in Table 8.

As can be expected, the results of the t test in fact offer better comparisons of the socioeconomic variables between the ethnic groups. Significant differences are shown by the t values between the norm group and the other ethnic groups (Table 8). The larger the t value (> + 1.96 and - 1.96), the greater is the mean proportional value of the ethnic group from the norm group. A negative t value (< - 1.96) represents a higher mean proportional difference from the norm group while a positive value (> 1.96) indicates a lower mean proportional variation from the norm group.

For groups in high income levels, significant relationships were shown by the norm group versus the Jewish (-2.80), the Indians (3.80), the Blacks (2.12) and the French (2.11). The t value of -2.80 indicates that the Jewish group had a higher mean proportion in high income than the British. However, all other groups had a lower mean proportion. In low income level, the British versus the Italians (8.10), the Blacks (6.86), the Germans (5.82) and the French (4.16) illustrated significant differences in terms of their lower mean proportions than the British. The t values of the

TABLE IV-8

RESULTS OF THE t TEST (THE BRITISH VERSUS A SPECIFIC GROUP)

SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES	B-G[a]	B-F	B-I	B-J	B-A	B-B	B-IN
	(t VALUES)						
1.H-INCOME	0.03	2.11*	1.43	-2.80*	1.44	2.12*	3.80*
2.L-INCOME	5.82*	4.16*	8.10*	-0.29	1.71	6.86*	1.61
3.H-EDUCATION	-4.26*	0.78*	6.38*	-5.04*	-5.20*	-2.95*	3.20*
4.L-EDUCATION	1.45	-2.17*	-15.11*	2.80*	-1.62	-0.16	-2.95*
5.MANAGERIAL	3.32*	3.59*	5.37*	3.02*	7.50*	14.44*	10.98*
6.PROFESSIONAL	0.15	2.13*	5.30*	0.26	-1.02	2.55*	13.96*
7.SKILLED	-2.84*	-3.19*	-9.01*	7.05*	-2.65*	-0.63	-1.54
8.UNSKILLED	3.13	-0.01	-2.66*	-0.01	2.07*	2.48*	3.21*
9.ENGLISH	26.54*	18.65*	21.04*	9.39*	24.29*	1.74	7.00*
10.MOTHER TONGUE	-27.35*	-0.41	-20.09*	-8.07*	-23.08*	-0.88	-5.58*
11.IMMIGRATION 46-71	-15.92*	-2.32*	-12.32*	-2.77*	-7.73*	-7.08*	1.37
12.H SELF-EMPLOYED BUSINESS	-3.88*	1.02	-1.65	-3.94*	-0.45	0.59	0.64

[a] ETHNIC GROUPS: B-BRITISH, G-GERMAN, F-FRENCH, I-ITALIAN, J-JEWISH, A-ASIAN, B-BLACK AND IN-INDIAN.

* 0.05 SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL.

SOURCE: 1971 SPECIAL COMPUTER TAPE DATA.

British versus the Italians and the Blacks manifested that they had larger differences in low income representation than those of the British versus the Germans and the French.

Considering the variability of the t values for groups in both university and elementary education, greater variation in low education than in high education was obvious. In high education, the British versus the Asians (-5.20), the Jews (-5.04), the Germans (-4.26) and the Blacks (-2.95) all demonstrated their significant variations from the British. All negative t values in high education (the Asians, the Jews, the Germans and the Blacks), indicate higher social status in Metro. At the same time, the British versus the Italians (6.38) and the Indians (3.20) showed clearly that the two groups had lower mean proportions in high education everywhere in Metro. In low education, significant mean proportional differences were exhibited by four out of seven t values: -15.11, -2.95, -2.17 and 2.80. The highest difference was found between the British and the Italians (-15.11) and corresponded to their low proportion in high education. Only with the Jews did the British comparison yield a significant positive value (2.80), suggesting that the Jews had the lowest proportion in low education among all groups.

It was very interesting that significant relationships were found in all managerial and in most skilled manual occupations. Firstly, in the managerial category, all groups revealed lower mean proportions than the British. This phenomenon indicated that the British have maintained their upper position in managerial occupations. The t values in the comparisons of the British and the Blacks (14.44), the Indians (10.98), the Asians (7.50) and the Italians (5.37) pointed out that the visible minorities especially and to some extent the Italians had strikingly high mean proportional differences in this high-status occupation. Though the British versus the Jews (3.02), the Germans (3.32) and the French (3.59) yielded smaller t values than with the visible minorities, comparison differences were still significant. Secondly, in the skilled manual category, significant t values in terms of higher mean proportional differences from the norm group reflected that the Italians (-9.01), the French (-3.19), the Germans (-2.84) and the Asians (-2.65) had higher mean proportions in this low-status occupation. The largest t value between the British and the Italians showed that the over-representation of the Italians in skilled manual occupation was remarkable. Not unexpectedly, the British versus the Jews yielded positive t value (7.05)

which means that the Jews have the lowest mean proportion in this low-status occupation of any group.

In the professional category, the British have higher proportion than the Indians (t=13.96), the Italians (5.30), the Blacks (2.55) and the French (2.13). The low Indian status is inevitably associated with their low educational attainment across Metro. The latter tends to force people also into low-skilled jobs. It is not a coincidence that the proportion of the British in skilled jobs is significantly lower than that of the Italians (-2.66). It is somewhat surprising that mean proportion of British in unskilled jobs is higher than that of the Germans (3.13), the Indians (3.21), the Blacks (2.48) and the Asians (2.07). The large proportion of the Italians in blue-collar occupations, especially construction, seems to be borne out.

How have the different ethnic groups retained the use of their mother tongue? Theory would suggest that living by and within the charter group would cause them to give up their mother tongue. Remarkably significant differences emerged in the use of English at home by different ethnic groups. Only the Blacks displayed insignificant differences in the proportion of households that spoke English at home compared with the British themselves. All other groups showed varying

degrees of variations from the norm group. Because of recent immigration, the Italians (21.04) and Asians (24.29) were anticipated to be different from the British. But the Germans (26.54), the French (18.65) as well as the Jews (9.39) and the native Indians (7.00) had relatively large values. The proportions of mother tongue spoken seem to be the mirror image of English spoken. The Germans' high use of the mother tongue (-27.35) was somewhat unexpected because of their general similarity to the British and their long establishment in Metro. Significant differences between the British and the French (18.65), the Jews (9.39) and the Indians (7.00) illustrated their desire to use the mother tongue at home. However, the insignificant differences between the British and the French as well as the Blacks can be seen in part as the examples of the integration process, although one must remember that many Blacks used English as their mother tongue before they came to Canada.

Low-income post-war immigrants did show significant differences from the norm group. The t value of the British versus the German (-15.92) and the Italian (-12.32) immigrant groups indicated that, on the whole, the two groups had relatively higher mean proportions than any other groups. The t values of the British

versus the Asians (-7.73) and the Blacks (-7.08) showed their similar mean proportional differences from the British whereas t values of the Jews (-2.77) and the French (-2.32) displayed less strong patterns.

Finally, significant differences in self-employed business among groups were important indicators showing their economic potentials. The norm group versus the Jews (-3.94) and the Germans (-3.88), their t values exhibited higher mean proportional differences from the British. Though self-employed businesses of the Italians and the Chinese were very important, no significant relationship was shown by the Asian aggregate and the Italians.

According to the overall analysis and statistical test throughout Metro, marked socioeconomic differences among groups as well as between the norm group and a specific group have existed. The overall results can be summarized as follows.

The Italians in Metro represented a good example, because they deviated most from the British as well as from all other ethnic groups. These differences were low educational attainment, high concentration in skilled and unskilled manual occupations, the recentness of immigration and the majority of their members speaking no English. In terms of social status, the

group thus had a low position in Metro in spite of its higher average income than those of the visible minorities. On the contrary, the Jewish group had attained a high social status in Metro due to its high-representation in high-income proportion, high educational attainment, major concentration in the white-collar category and considerable economic success in self-employed business. Also, the group yielded the highest average income across Metro. In the low-income and manual-labour categories, no significant differences existed between the Jews and the British.

To some extent, the German group was similar to the norm group in relation to its close mean proportions in low-educational attainment, high-income level and professional occupation. The group differed somewhat from the norm group in terms of higher mean proportions in high education, self-employed business and German speakers. Perhaps, the relatively high mean proportion in German speakers reflected that the group's cultural identity was strongly tied to only its linguistic retention in the dominant society.

The French in Metro were culturally integrated into the norm group as a whole by virtue of their insignificant proportional difference in French speakers. Economically and educationally, the group

showed slow progress in spite of its long established status in Metro. Except for its mean proportions in high education and labour occupation manifesting similar trends to the norm group, variations in low education, managerial and skilled manual occupations of the group had always been less extreme than those of the Italians.

The visible minorities showed notable differences from the norm group. This might be particularly true for the Indian group in Metro if its extreme population size was ignored. In practice, to some degree, the group's socioeconomic difference was less extreme than those of the Italian and the Black groups in Metro. In terms of educational attainment, high-income proportion and white-collar occupations, the group was found at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Although most of the Asians in Metro were recent immigrants, they had a relatively higher social status than the Italians. Culturally, substantial numbers of mother tongue speakers in this ethnic category suggested that the cohesiveness of the group was significantly related to its linguistic factor. The recentness of its immigration was also important. The group's high educational attainment and high proportion in professional occupation resembled somewhat the Jewish group though economically their average income was lower

than the Italians'. The situation of the Blacks who were recent immigrants from the Third World was similar to that of the Asians in terms of their educational attainment and blue-collar occupations. Their extremely low-representation in managerial occupation and relatively high-representation in low-income level implied that the social mobility of the group seemed to be restricted.

4. INCOME-GROUP DISTRIBUTIONS IN METRO TORONTO

It is assumed that striking social differences among ethnic groups are closely associated with their spatial segregations or concentrations in Metro. The use of centrographic measures in this section attempts to find a significant relationship between income-group locations and geographic distributions. It is hoped that this relationship will provide a spatial basis for subsequent hypotheses testing in terms of ethnic groups' social status as well as their integration processes throughout Metro.

To begin with, the income variable which included ethnic population counts of those aged 15 and over in two extreme income categories was selected in Metro (the all-age group). Accordingly, ethnic groups for each

planning region were categorized into two sets: those with less than $2,000 and those with over $15,000. It was expected that these groups within each ethnic population would show considerable economic differences between and within groups.

By using centrographic measures, a summary graphic profile of income-group distributions across Metro could be obtained. This profile in turn would furnish reliable comparisons between the groups' previous geographic dispersions and their economic oriented locations. The latter might give information on their social integration processes. Additionally, average income figures for the cohort group (aged 25 to 39) throughout Metro were taken as examples in such a way that more concrete and subtle interpretation and comparison could be made.

First of all, it was assumed that if spatial segregation of the two income groups occurred it is a reflection of social segregation within the group. Therefore, the centres of different income-groups would not necessary be located near the population centres of the groups (compare Figures 14, 17, 18 and 19). Secondly, income centres for each group would maintain a certain distance from that of the reference population centre. Within each ethnic group, the distance between

high- and low-income centres could be described as income distance. In order to gain thorough comparisons between or within groups, separate descriptions for specific ethnic groups became important.

1) British, Germans and French

It was found that with the exception of the Jews and the native Indians, high-income groups ordinarily had greater dispersions in terms of larger skewness ratios than those of low-income groups (see Table 9). The British, the French and the Germans, for example, had larger ellipses in the high- and low-income categories than those of the other five groups (Figure 17).

The high-income category of the British had, on the whole, the greatest skewness ratio of 2.4066; the ratio of the French was 2.3316 and of the Germans was 2.2571. It was also apparent that the three groups would produce more elongated ellipses than those of the other high-income groups being studied. Though the standard distances about the major and minor axes of the Germans (5.5971 and 2.4798 miles) and of the French (5.4434 and 2.3347 miles) in effect slightly exceeding those of the British (5.2799 and 2.1939 miles), they still had the most skewed dispersions (Table 9).

TABLE IV-9

INCOME-GROUP LOCATIONS IN METRO TORONTO, 1971

	MEAN CENTRE X	MEAN CENTRE Y	MAJOR AXIS[c]	MINOR AXIS[c]	SKEWNESS
BRITISH					
LT$ 2,000[a]	11.21	6.24	5.1384	2.6607	1.9312
GT$15,000[b]	11.16	7.02	5.2799	2.1939	2.4066
GERMAN					
LT$ 2,000	10.90	6.38	5.2007	2.7415	1.8970
GT$15,000	11.50	7.21	5.5971	2.4798	2.2571
FRENCH					
LT$ 2,000	11.20	5.82	4.7725	2.7902	1.7105
GT$15,000	11.73	7.00	5.4434	2.3347	2.3316
ASIAN					
LT$ 2,000	11.24	5.24	3.9134	2.3904	1.6371
GT$15,000	12.18	7.37	4.8258	2.3199	2.0801
BLACK					
LT$ 2,000	10.45	5.37	3.8179	2.3742	1.6081
GT$15,000	12.87	7.06	5.2023	2.4399	2.1321
INDIAN					
LT$ 2,000	11.31	5.11	4.3010	2.3366	1.8407
GT$15,000	8.36	6.00	3.1458	1.9119	1.6454
JEWISH					
LT$ 2,000	10.25	8.26	1.7204	2.3641	0.7277
GT$15,000	10.78	8.10	1.6145	2.2786	0.7086
ITALIAN					
LT$ 2,000	8.87	6.45	3.7028	2.6743	1.3846
GT$15,000	8.62	7.76	4.4375	2.5493	1.7407

[a] AVERAGE INCOME LESS THAN $2,000.

[b] AVERAGE INCOME OVER $15,000.

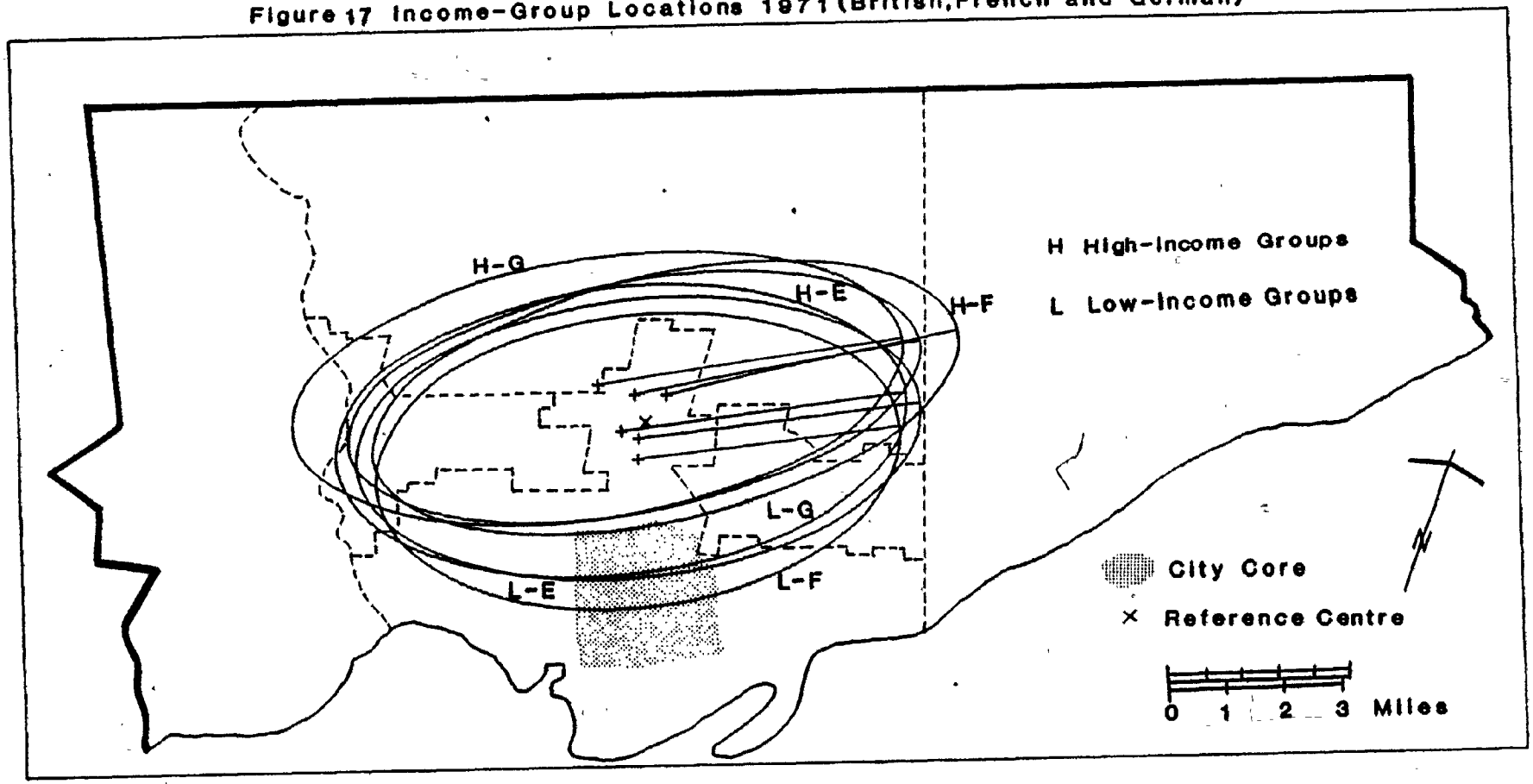
[c] MILES.

SOURCE: 1971 SPECIFIC COMPUTER TAPE DATA.

The overlap of the ellipses inevitably illustrated that the high and low income centres of the three groups either in high-or low-income categories had to be close to the centre of the reference population (Figure 17). This concurrence seemed consistent with their earlier geographic distributions. In terms of income level, this meant that the Germans, together with the French, might be described as "economically indistinguishable" from the British as a whole, in spite of the fact that the French frequently trailed along behind the other two groups. Quite often, the high-income groups' income centres, which still remained near the City limits, were located northward from the reference centre, the Germans being the farthest, then the British and then the French. This phenomenon would be reversed in the case of the low-income groups (Figure 17). Thus, for all income-groups, with the exception of the native Indians, this northward trend indicates that ethnic groups with high economic status are located more distant from the city centre while those with low economic status tend to be closer to the core (compare Figures 17, 18 and 19).

For the low-income groups, less linear ellipses and downtown oriented positions were expected. It would also be noted that except for suburban locations of the Jews (Figure 19), other income-group locations were

Figure 17 Income-Group Locations 1971 (British, French and German)



almost entirely located south of the reference centre. Here, the French were lower, the British and the Germans being higher (Figure 17). The majority of the income centres of both the high-and low-income groups had been concentrated in one planning region (21) within the City boundaries, and relative distances from the reference centre were usually less than 1 mile, suggesting that strong suburbanization processes had been taking place in all three income-groups, even though considerable number of these groups were still residing in the core.

Although the norm group inherently has the greatest opportunity to diffuse across the urban area, it was discovered that the British high-average income group (the British cohort group) tended to be more concentrated than the French and the German. After searching the distribution of average income figures throughout 53 planning regions (for the cohort group), it was also found that the British cohort group has created a " high average income stronghold" (average $9,000) converging on planning regions 20, 22 and 24 around its original population centre (21), parallel to the north Yonge Street corridor and not far away from the inner city. The Germans' ellipse appeared to contain the ellipse of the British most of the time but spread out farther to the west. Also the German cohort

group (average $8,300) seemed to embrace the British "core" with a greater spreading-out tendency pointing to the northeast. The spatial lag of the French matched up with its previous geographic pattern, indicating that this group still kept its close contact with the downtown area. The group's average income of $7,850 directly reflected this economic gap as well as its incomplete absorption process.

As one observed the high and low income distance within the three groups-- the British (0.78 miles), the French (1.28 miles) and the Germans (0.89 miles)-- internal differential locations within two income extremes were close (Table 10). This stability could be attributed both to their constant and similar dispersion patterns and to the closeness of their income centres. It seems reasonable to infer that the shorter the income distance, the less the income variation and the greater the cohesiveness of the group. Yet, care must be taken in interpreting the figures for average income in terms of the income distance because different age groups certainly will have different average income distributions, even though the cohort group chosen is considered to represent the most stable household units, participating in the labour force, possessing respectable earning power, attaining considerable

TABLE IV-10

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INCOME-DISTANCE AND AVERAGE INCOME FIGURES, 1971

	INCOME[a] DISTANCE (MILES)	HIGH-AVERAGE[b] INCOME ($)	LOW-AVERAGE[c] INCOME ($)	INCOME RANGE[d] ($)
INDIAN	3.10	7,900	2,100	5,800
BLACK	3.00	8,300	3,700	4,600
ASIAN	2.22	7,600	4,100	3,500
ITALIAN	1.33	8,400	4,900	3,500
FRENCH	1.28	7,850	4,800	3,050
GERMAN	0.89	8,300	5,500	2,800
BRITISH	0.78	9,000	5,000	4,000
JEWISH	0.56	13,000	4,700	8,400

[a] DISTANCE BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW INCOME CENTRES (ALL AGE-GROUP).

[b] COHORT GROUP(AGED 25 TO 39)—SELECTED 10 HIGHEST AVERAGE INCOMES IN METRO.

[c] COHORT GROUP(AGED 25 TO 39)—SELECTED 10 LOWEST AVERAGE INCOMES IN METRO.

[d] HIGH-AVERAGE INCOME (b) MINUS LOW-AVERAGE INCOME (c).

SOURCE: 1971 SPECIAL COMPUTER TAPE DATA.

education and so on. It appears unlikely that any direct comparison between the income distance for the all age-group and the average income distribution for a specific cohort group can be made.

Owing to the assumed income distance scale for instance, the British (0.78 miles) was the second least ethnic group having less income variation between two economic polarities; in short, the average income divergence within this group had to be very small. But the crude assessment from the cohort sample suggested that a $4,000 income gap within the British, which ranked fourth after the Blacks ($4,600), the native Indians ($5,800) and the Jews ($8,400), existed (Table 10). Income ranges in the case of the Germans ($2,800) and the French ($3,050) seemed less noticeable. Moreover, in terms of spatial group cohesiveness, the Jews had the shortest distance between the centres of their high- and low-income groups (0.56 miles). On the other hand, the Jewish cohort group had the greatest income variation of $8,400 (Figure 19).

Nevertheless, some correspondences between income distance and income variation within the visible minorities, especially the native Indians and the Blacks, deserve particular attention. This may be attributed in part to their persistent low status and in

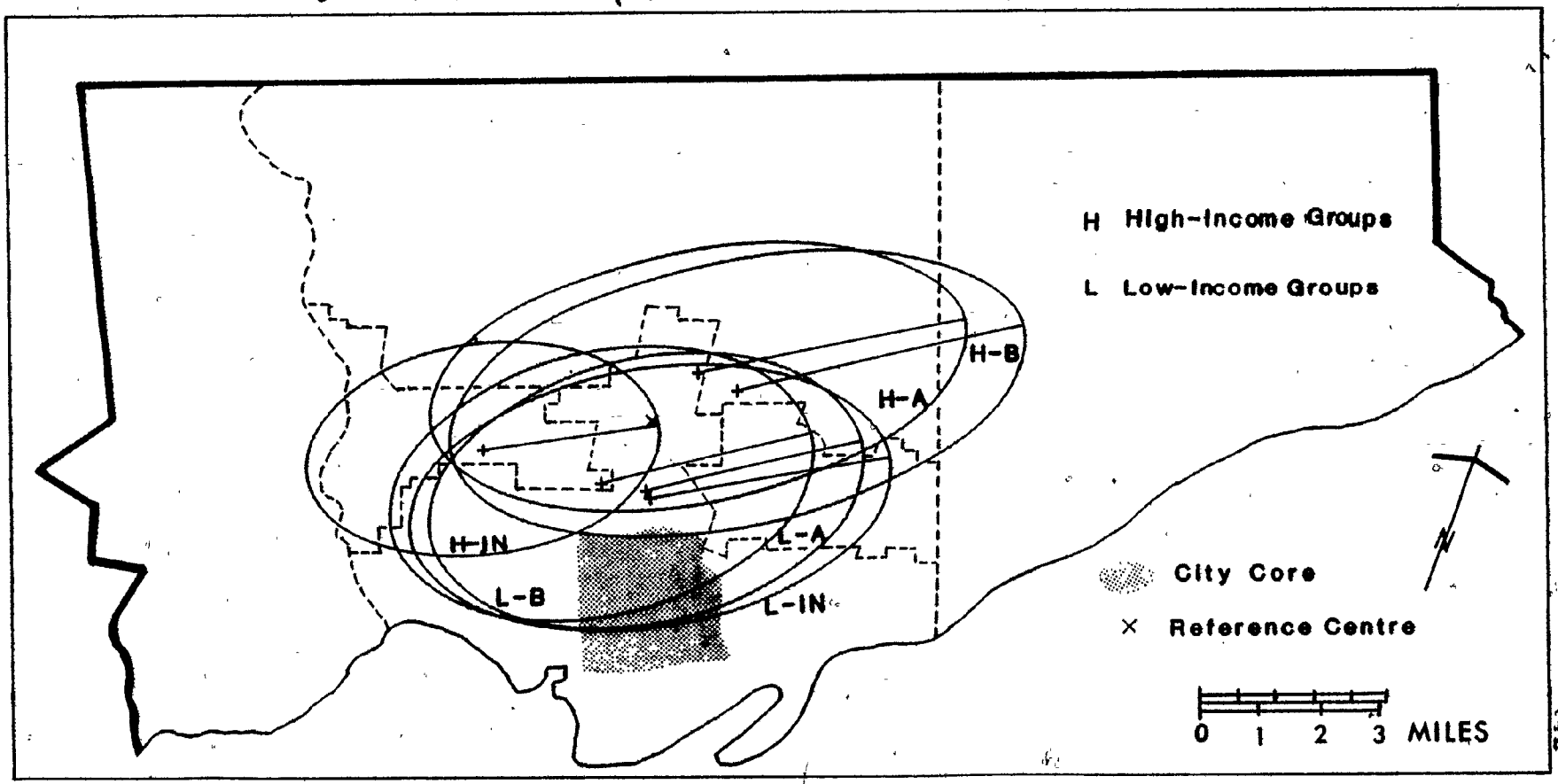
part to their striking average income disparity in terms of their remarkable income distance across Metro. Perhaps, this low status for the visible minorities serve as a frame of reference when detailed investigation will be explored.

2) Asians, Blacks and native Indians

Broadly speaking, in terms of income groups, the visible minorities showed a different dispersion tendency to that of the reference population (Figure 18). As one identified the actual locations of the high- and low-income groups among the minority groups, a striking shift of the high-income groups to the suburbs was evident. This salient shift may imply that changing economic status and increasing level of integration particularly for the Blacks and the Asians, and to some extent the native Indians have been occurring.

Through graphic presentation, one discovered that both the Blacks and the Asians had astoundingly similar ellipses and dispersion patterns (Figure 18). This approximation suggested that for both high-income groups in the suburbs, the Asians were more concentrated or cohesive than the Blacks; but the opposite circumstance existed for both low-income minorities in the inner city.

Figure 18 Income-Group Locations 1971 (Asian, Black and Indian)



The strong northeast shift of the high-income Asians behaved somewhat differently from that of the reference group. Like the pattern of the French, but with a less linear ellipse, the pattern of the Asians was located at the northeast of the reference centre, preserving a distance of more than 1 mile from its own income centre within the City boundary.

This move to the eastern suburbs and the large separation between the high- and low-income centres, supports the hypothesis that high-income Asians would be more mobile than the low-income ones. One might assume that this reflects an increasing degree of integration. To a certain extent, it seemed also valid that low-income Asians appeared to be less mobile and more cohesive and spatially segregated in some specific areas of the City. However, it may become possible to argue that this contrasting group location will be responsible for the group's aggregate character, which no doubt will affect the calculated results and visual impression.

Other minority groups seemed to pursue similar but more extreme distribution patterns than that of the Asians. When comparing the income centres of the Asians and the Blacks, the latter obviously showed greater income distance (Table 10). The distance of 3.00 miles implied that while the traditional concentration of the

low-income Blacks clustered in the city centre, the high-income Blacks had made a larger eastward shift. Besides, the high-income Blacks' income centre is located northeast of that of the reference group out of the City limits, being maintained more than 1 mile farther east and lower than that of the Asians. Its low-income centre therefore lay southwest of the reference group's, keeping a more than 1 mile distance farther west and higher than the Asians'. The more skewed ellipse of the wealthy Blacks when compared to that of the Asians shows that this group is more widely dispersed, and suggests that the Blacks' integration process is more complete.

Though the native Indians had the lowest income centre, they displayed different spatial distributions from those of the Asians and the Blacks. Evidently, high-income Indians were more concentrated in the inner suburbs of York than the low-income Indians in the City. This difference may partly be ascribable to the discriminatory housing market in the outskirts and partly to their small population numbers as well as supposedly strong group cohesion.

When examining the income distances for all groups, it was discovered that the native Indian income distance was the greatest, 3.10 miles; the Blacks' was 3.00

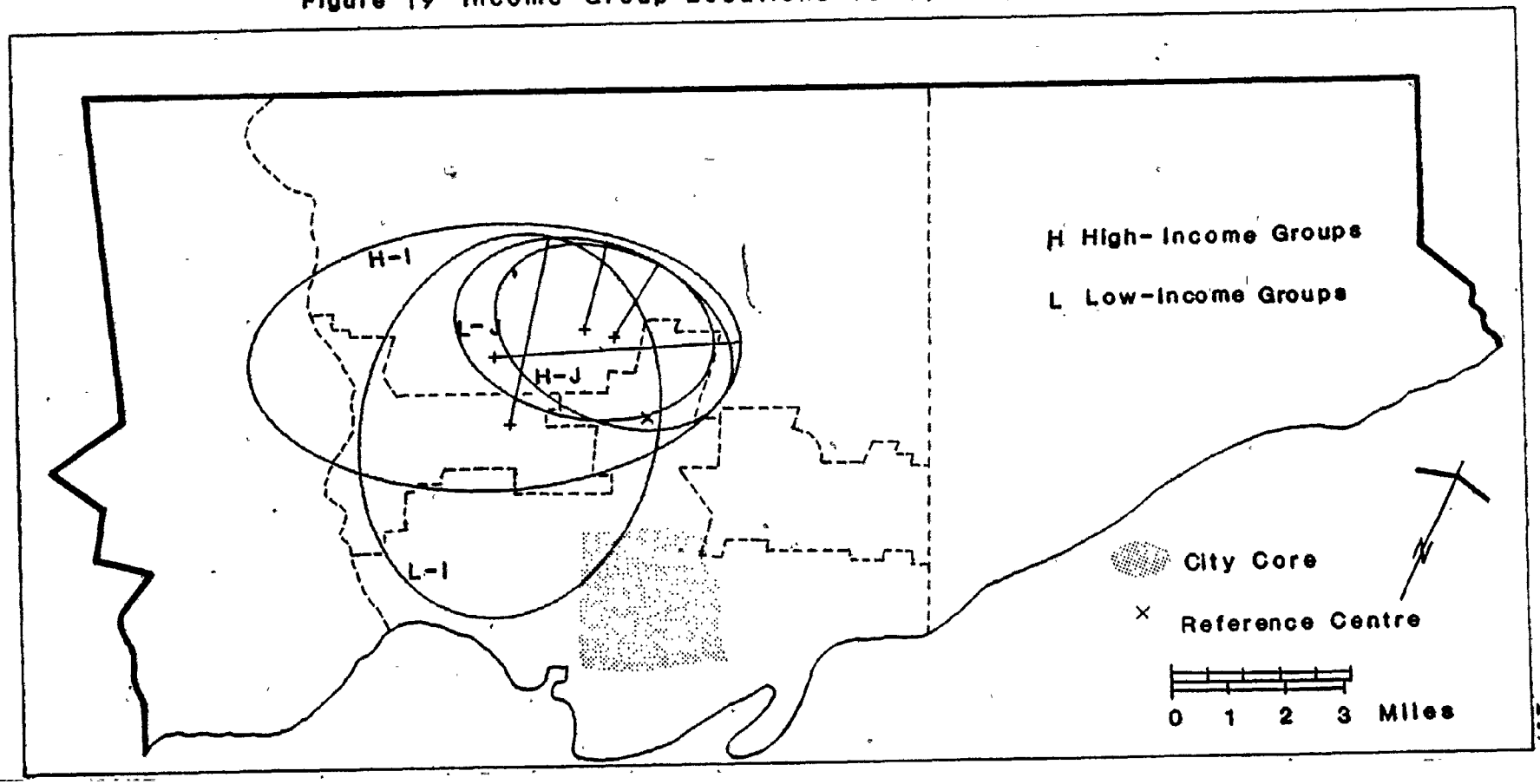
miles, the Asians's 2.22 miles and other groups' come after, the Jews' being the least (0.56 miles). This might indicate that considerable income differences existed within the visible minority groups. As the average income figures were examined, high-income Asians showed a rather unusual pattern because of their suburban position and a much stronger concentration of their high average income ($7,600) in North York. The low-average income group ($4,100) is scattered along Dundas Street with Chinatown Proper to the west of it and the South Riverdale Chinatown to the east of it (Wong, 1980: chapter 5). In comparison to the Blacks' ($4,600) and the native Indians' ($5,800), the Asians' average income range ($3,500) seemed less marked (Table 10). The concordance between the income distance and the income variation of the minorities presumably indicates that this is not a coincidence but rather a manifestation of the perpetuation of their economic segregation, implying that stagnant upward mobility actually exists in these groups. However, it must be admitted that such a conclusion based merely on the income variable may be somewhat arbitrary.

3) Jews and Italians

In terms of both the high-income and low-income categories, the Jews presented the most concentrated patterns in Metro Toronto as measured by their relatively small skewness ratio of 0.7086 and 0.7277 (see Table 9 and Figure 19). The nearness of the income centres was unique. First, the intimate overlap of both income categories appeared unavoidable, meaning that the two income-groups were spatially indistinguishable. Second, the shortest income distance of 0.56 miles hinted that within this group, there was the least spatial variation (Table 10). Though the nearly identical income positions are of high interest, they may be explained on the basis of the strong family ties of this community. According to Spencer and Grygier's report, the Jewish community tended to incorporate low-income extended kin-- married brothers and sisters, grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins-- in closely-knit neighborhoods owing to group cohesiveness and solidarity (Spencer and Grygier, 1965: 20-21).

As would be expected, the particular locations for both the Jews and the Italians departed greatly from the customary distribution pattern. To some degree, this abnormality manifested their distinct segregation in the urban area. Comparatively, the income variation within the Italian group appeared not too great, but clearly

Figure 19 Income-Group Locations 1971(Italian and Jewish)



there were some differences. It was seen that the ellipse of the low-income Italians tended to wedge tightly into the the high-income sector (Figure 19), denoting that this community showed more or less the same strong bonds of kinship with its relatives as the Jewish community.

In view of the distribution patterns between two high-income and low-income groups, the almost perpendicular ellipses looked peculiar. Whereas the low-income Italians mainly came together on their traditional axis, moving northward from the Eglinton/Dufferin and Lawrence/Dufferin area to the suburbs of York and North York, the high-income category seemed to disseminate along the southern part of the 401 Highway and extended to the eastern section of Etobicoke (Figure 19).

It appears odd that the Jews had the shortest distance between the centres of the two income groups. Yet at the same time the greatest average income range ($8,400) between the cohort groups (see Table 10). It might suggest that substantial income differences existed among their various age categories. It might also be ascribed to its extremely high average income in this specific sample because the Jews actually exceeded the British by $4,000. Investigation of the average

income figures within or among ethnic groups from the sample (Table 10) indicated that the Jewish group was at the top of the economic ladder, surpassing the British average income figure which was $9,000.

In the case of the Italian group, average income variation was less notable. This might be attributable to its moderate income figures between the two extremes. By the same token, its relatively short income distance of 1.33 miles did not correspond to the greater average income variation ($3,500) which was similar to that of the Asians. Not surprisingly, the lowest average incomes were obtained from those of the visible minorities, especially the native Indians and the Blacks, with an average income of $2,100 and $3,700 respectively.

When some socioeconomic characteristics were superimposed upon the income-group distributions in Metro, the test of some hypotheses thus proceeded. Firstly, the assumption that the higher the socioeconomic status (income, occupation and education), the lower the degree of segregation in space can only be applied to some groups, particularly the Germans and the French. To a greater extent, the two groups appear to be socially, economically and spatially integrated into the norm group as a whole. However, other ethnic groups do show varying degrees of segregation or integration.

Secondly, the combination of income, occupation and education is a major determinant to evaluate the social status of an ethnic group. Compared to the British, the German group commonly has a higher average income and greater over representation in professional jobs than the British, while the French seem to trail along behind the norm group in average income and under-representation in managerial and professional jobs; however, their approximation in income figures, education level and high-status jobs implies that the three groups are socially and economically integrated. Spatially, whether in the high- or low-income category, the French and the German groups tend to be more mobile and to be geographically dispersed across the urban area. Their similar suburbanization patterns also mean that they have been integrated into the norm group as a whole moving out to the suburbs of Scarborough, North York and Etobicoke. At the same time, a "core" of the British with relatively high average incomes has been identified around the groups's population centre, converging on regions 22, 23 and 24.

Even though the Jewish group is socially and economically integrated by virtue of having the highest average income, high educational level and a large number of high status managerial jobs, this group

exhibits the most distinct segregation pattern in space. Economically, the Italian group probably experiences a more advantageous position in terms of average income than the visible minorities, though the majority of them are in low-status jobs and have low education. This group is occupationally segregated in the labour market, but its economic potential cannot be underestimated. This may well explain why both its high- and low-income groups follow the Jewish migration path out to the suburbs. The slow movement of its low-income group, however, indicates that the process of moving out of its traditional area to the suburbs of York and North York is still going on (Figure 19).

Of the visible minorities, the Indians seem to be in a vulnerable position because they often have low-average income, low status jobs and low educational attainment. There is obvious segregation between its high- and low-income groups in the city core and in the inner suburbs of York (Figure 18). It appears paradoxical that the average incomes of the Asians and the Blacks are lower than those of the Italians, even though the former groups have higher education and more high-status jobs, particularly in the professional category. It may be hypothesized that Asians and Blacks are treated differently on specific levels of the

occupational hierarchy. It follows that they may be segregated in high-status jobs in terms of restricted opportunity, but the Italians who frequently hold low-status jobs in fact enjoy greater monetary opportunities than the Asians and the Blacks. However, in a spatial sense, high economic status of the two groups is actually reflected by their strong suburbanization process and less segregated patterns.

One may tentatively conclude at this stage that the relationship between occupation and education seems stronger than the relationship between income and education. Briefly, the occupation variable becomes one of the most significant indices with respect to a group's socioeconomic status, for it is directly associated with educational qualification, income and English capability. It was discovered that an ethnic group with the higher income level may have less than its share of managerial and professional jobs, for example the Jews. Superficially, the case of the Asians and the Blacks is different. Because of high education, both the Asians and the Blacks have professional jobs, but they appear to earn less than the Italians who hold well-paid, low-status jobs. In practice, ethnic inequality based on job opportunity rather than income disparity is particularly apparent. In sum, average

income seems to be less equally distributed than status jobs within these groups.

Spatially and economically, segregated patterns of ethnic groups in Metro are the reflections of the historical consequences of economic conditions or segregation. Economic segregation in the form of low entrance status tends to trap immigrant groups in low-status jobs within the occupational hierarchy. The post-war Italian group is a good example. Economic segregation in terms of higher entrance status which tends to isolate members of a specific group in particular occupations within economic institutions under the broad occupational structure, also occurs. The recent Black and Asian immigrants with high educational levels are another example.

Therefore, several hypotheses which focus on entrance status and immigration period of ethnic groups should be discussed. These hypotheses emphasize that low entrance-status ethnic groups tend to be perpetuated in the low socioeconomic strata reflected by low income and manual jobs and that low socioeconomic status in terms of low entrance status is significantly related to ethnic orgin, distinctive skin colour, levels of income and education, language other than English and immigration period. The ranked sample chosen from

low-income recent immigrants is then used to test these hypotheses. The Italians who came after the 1950's, and the Asians and the West Indians, who are recent arrivals, are concentrated in low-status jobs as unskilled workers or labourers. Some of them may be absorbed by ethnic community businesses especially in low-income self-employed settings which offer low-status jobs for unskilled newcomers because no special educational qualifications are needed. Thus, the Asian and the Italian ethnic businesses may play a key part in this respect.

When ethnic orgin, skin colour and mother tongue are considered, the recent low-income immigrant groups include high proportions of those of Blacks, Asians and Italians particularly in the period from 1965-1971. This suggests that substantial numbers of low-income immigrants are members of visible minorities. Indirect comparisons of use of mother tongue indicate that except for the Italian group, the Asian group is ranked second, other groups having a relatively high tendency to speak English. Therefore, the tendency to speak mother tongue also explains why relatively high self-employed businesses related to the Asian and Italian categories are so important.

5. SUMMARY

Within the context of a "vertical mosaic", sociologists often like to evaluate ethnic groups according to their relative status based upon socioeconomic variations. From a geographical viewpoint these vertical status arrangements should directly mirror a city's horizontal status distributions in terms of residential segregations. From a different perspective, spatial ethnic segregations should also suggest implications pertinent to socioeconomic integration.

Subsequent statistical measurements dealing mainly with socioeconomic data do manifest notable divergences in ethnic-socioeconomic patterns. It was discovered that groups which tend to be integrated in space also have similar socioeconomic characteristics. The norm group, the Germans and the French are typical examples. The most segregated groups, the Jews and the Italians, exhibit both positive and negative socioeconomic extremes in job status, education levels, language used other than English, etc. The visible minorities, especially the Asians and Blacks, whether their high-status or low-status subgroups, seem to encounter similar patterns. Whereas the high-status groups appear

to be segregated in particular jobs levels, the low-status groups tend to be locked in at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. The native Indians are always found in a less advantageous position, even though they seem to be least segregated in space and most of them are English speaking. But up to this stage, the partial revelation of a "urban ethnic mosaic" is evident, although further investigation of sequential changes is really needed.

In this chapter, the use of centrographic measures in terms of income-group locations first builds up a clear profile that not only demonstrates marked ethnic-economic differences but also noticeable segregated or concentrated patterns in space. After the testing of the hypotheses, the spatial integration process was also perceptible, and the ambiguous notion of spatial segregation for ethnic groups became more meaningful.

Footnotes:

1. All these tapes were bought with the help of a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation to Dr. A. Hecht and were made available for this study.
2. The cohort group (aged 25 to 39) chosen was regarded as representing the most stable household units, participating in the labour force, possessing respectable earning power, attaining considerable education and so on.
3. The professional and technical category in fact included natural and social sciences, religion, teaching, medical and related occupations.
4. The skilled manual category comprised processing, machining, product fabricating, assembling and repairing and construction trades occupations; the unskilled manual category included those occupations like materials handling, other crafts and equipment operating occupations.
5. Some selected sub-categories such as natural and social sciences, medical and related fields were chosen in the Table.
6. If the samples are randomly drawn from a common population (the null hypothesis), the expected ratio of the between variance per degree of freedom divided by the variance with the sample should be one.

CHAPTER V

THE C-P CONCEPT IN AN URBAN SETTING

1. AN URBAN ETHNIC MOSAIC

The complexity of Canadian society in terms of its cultural-socioeconomic framework is unique even though some parallels with the U.S. are evident. Because the extent of ethnic diversity varies from region to region, uniculturalism, biculturalism or multiculturalism can be said to coexist in Canada. Among them, multiculturalism in terms of a mosaic-type culture prevails in large cities. Due to recent immigration, the prominence of ethnicity in big cities undoubtedly enhances the multicultural outlook, and also furnishes typical examples which help one to comprehend ethnic integration in terms of both its spatial and socioeconomic dimensions. Metropolitan Toronto is one such representative example.

Metropolitan Toronto can be properly described as a "mosaic" in many aspects. Spatially, there are distinct patterns of ethnic segregation or concentration throughout the metropolitan area. Socially and economically, these patterns are significantly linked to

ethnic differences in terms of incomes, occupations and social class. In short, the mosaic is highly stratified and ethnic differences coincide well with the traditional class structure.

Porter has claimed that class is associated with ethnic origin and social status in Canadian society (Porter, 1965: 68-73). In Metro Toronto, the distribution of occupational status in 1971 showed clearly that there were proportionately more British in the high-status occupations, particularly in the managerial category. In the sense of socioeconomic status, old and well-established groups like the German and the French have been integrated in spatial, social and economical terms into the major group as a whole. With the improving economic conditions and educational opportunities for some groups, gradually social mobility, which cuts across the vertical hierarchy, can be seen. The Jewish group and the recent Asian and Black immigrants may be good examples because they are over represented in high-status jobs, especially in professional and technical categories. Though all three groups are under represented in managerial occupations, the Jewish group has the highest average income throughout Metro while the other two groups earn less than the Italians who have low economic status and hold

low-status jobs. Thus, job opportunities for the three groups, enable them to penetrate into the managerial occupations are limited. Also, the Jews, the Asians and the Blacks experience varying degrees of occupational segregation in particular levels of occupational categories. Porter argues that Canadian society is generally characterized by significant inequalities in both position and opportunity, especially for some visible minorities (Porter, 1965: 73-91). Porter also contends that upward immigrant mobility is insubstantial. The present study seems to support Porter's view. This does not negate the fact that some studies of upward mobility among immigrant groups show that it does occur (Reitz, 1980: 41).

In terms of entrance status, Porter considers that a given ethnic group appropriates particular preferred roles and designates other ethnic groups for the less preferred ones. Over time, the relative status position, reinforced by stereotypes and social images, hardens and is perpetuated (Porter, 1965: 63-64). Historically, this was true, but over time most of the minority groups seem to have moved out of their entrance status because relative upward mobility and changing economic conditions occur. The metaphor of a vertical mosaic tending to lock specific groups into certain

positions is still valid, yet some groups are not restricted to a particular entrance status as suggested by some sociological studies (Reitz, 1980: 40-42). In this study, ethnic segregation is found to have been perpetuated over time in Metro, and the rigid hierarchical class structure seems to prolong the low status of ethnic minorities in the urban social system.

2. IMPLICATIONS OF SPATIAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Despite Toronto's "multicultural image", the metropolitan social structure has initially been built up within the context of one Anglo-Saxon culture. The main group has controlled the development of the whole urban system economically, socially and politically. A socio-cultural pattern, involving the majority and minority groups, has been established. Throughout history, marked c-p relations in terms of ethnic stratification and entrance status were used as beneficial instruments to lock immigrant groups in various subordinate positions. Such a rigid social hierarchy implies restriction of social mobility especially for groups who have been brought in at the bottom of the economic scale.

Traditionally, the core group is characterized by high living standards (greater incomes and higher paying jobs) and by high levels of employment, education and skills, whereas peripheral groups are usually linked to unemployment, low education and low economic standards in terms of low incomes and low-status jobs (Brookfield, 1975: 103). Over time, changes do occur. The increasing integration forces from the core group, reach into the peripheral groups and stimulate their differentiated growth. But in view of the symbolic promotion of multiculturalism, the integration of minority groups into the urban social system does not seem encouraging.

Because the notable c-p relations between groups have long been embedded in the social structure, ethnic cohesion of a specific group may be viewed as a fact of historic, economic inequality and social discrimination. That in the early years segregation may be sought by an ethnic group and indefinitely by specific member of a group does not remove the truth of the above statement. Undoubtedly, this economic hardship is significantly associated with the formation of a cohesive ethnic group. In a socioeconomic sense, groups like the Chinese and the Jewish seem to have experienced discrimination in the early years in Canada which may

have created the strongest ethnic communities and the most distinctive spatial segregation patterns in Toronto (Wong, 1980: chapter 3; Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 306-307). Therefore, it is hard to deny that both the existing ethnic segregation and strong group cohesion are consequences of the polarizing forces of integration which reflect a history of inequality and economic separation (Reitz, 1980: 146).

Studies of ethnic segregation have commonly used a segregation index to measure population differentiation in urban areas. Such a measurement always fails to cope with the spatial element because it is unable to identify specific areas of ethnic segregation or concentration across space or to exhibit a spatial population distribution (Matwijiw, 1979: 48). Thus, ethnic spatial analysis, providing a broader spectrum in segregation studies for spatial segregation, not only reveals ethnic groups' cohesive behaviour in space but also reflects the underlying processes shaping this strong ethnic identity. As a result, patterns of spatial segregation enhance differences among groups, and these differences are also indicative of their social variations. In short, spatial segregation is the cumulative effect of social norm, traditional sanctions and the strength of group cohesiveness in a dominant

society. Hence, in Metro Toronto, the persistence of ethnic dimensions over time is not an abnormal process but a combination of spatial, social and ideological elements of a metropolitan structure.

Broadly, social integration in this study refers to spatial, social and economic absorption of ethnic groups into the dominant social structure. Specifically, spatial integration is essential because it not only implies "unidentifiable" geographic patterns among groups, but also refers to their cultural, social and economic resemblances. Therefore, in the current study, spatial integration represents social integration if a group is spatially integrated and its socioeconomic and cultural characteristics more or less resemble the dominant group's. If a group is spatially segregated, this may suggest an incomplete social integration process within the group due to its cultural and socioeconomic differences. Since voluntary ethnic segregations are common within the urban scene in Canada today, spatial segregation of specific groups does not preclude their participation in the larger social system.

In this study, the relationship between spatial segregation and social integration is within the context of the c-p spatial system. Over time as the spread of

the less polarizing process of integration increases, ethnic segregation as well as their social differences or cultural distinctiveness is assumed to be declining. For instance, increasing upward mobility opportunities for ethnic groups should generate greater social mobility, meaning that ethnic groups will become more mobile both socially and geographically. Thus, the extent of social integration, in terms of spatial, economic or social absorption into the urban system, will be facilitated. The following paragraphs will explore these processes based on spatial and socioeconomic information derived from the earlier chapters.

According to the spatial distribution patterns over time within ethnic groups in Metro, the stability and perpetuation of the Jewish segregation was impressive. That the degree of spatial integration was a function of length of residence seemed to be invalid in the case of the Jews. Despite the relatively slight dispersions for three decades, the compact, segregated pattern was strongly maintained. After 1971, the pattern was found to be even more compact than the previous one.[1]

In terms of social status based on the 1971 census data, Jews had achieved a high economic position in Metro. Both the statistical results and overall

analysis showed clearly that the group had a high proportion in high income and their average income was the highest across Metro. This economic potential also mirrored their high educational attainment and relatively high representation in both managerial and professional occupations. There are a variety of Jewish-owned businesses that provided opportunities for employment for its own members (Richmond, 1967b: 33). Whether in income, education or occupation, the group achieved substantial economic success and social acceptance. To some extent, irrespective of their occupational segregation, the group's economic integration into the urban society was complete.

Because the heavy influx of the Italians and the Asians has occurred in post-war years, a high degree of segregation and a low degree of integration could have been anticipated. In the early 1950's, both ethnic groups were concentrated in the inner city, with a similar dispersion direction to the reference population's. After 1951, specific areal and directional differences of the two groups were shown. Over time, the relative extent of increasing dispersions in space indicated that to a certain degree spatial segregation of the two groups declined. Visually, the Italians showed a more distinct pattern than that of the

Asians, mainly because the group's movement corresponded well with its maximum dispersion direction which was opposite to the general trend. While the Italians followed the Jewish lead, moving out quickly to York and North York, the Asians made their slow-paced movement to North York and Scarborough. This slow movement of the Asian community to the suburbs exhibited its strong attachment to the city core. However, both groups were highly segregated but not quite as compact as the Jewish group.

Owing to the recentness of arrival and the sponsored basis of immigration, the Italians had a low social status in terms of low educational attainment, low-status jobs and low proportion of English speakers in Metro in 1971, though their average income was higher than the Asians'. At the same time, similar proportions in managerial and skilled manual occupations denoted that upward mobility in high-status jobs within the community itself occurred . Most of these opportunities were found in the construction industry, employers being mainly proprietors of small businesses (Richmond, 1967b: 26; Reitz, 1980: 77). Thus, income mobility as well as social mobility was available for the Italians within the context of segregated working settings (Reitz, 1980: 200).

Due to recent immigration and high educational qualifications, the Asian group, especially those who arrived after the 1960's, attained higher social status than the Italians in Metro. Accordingly, the high proportion of Asians concentrated in professional and technical occupations was striking. Porter has mentioned that some ethnic groups characteristically place a high value on educational and occupational attainment, fostering high rates of upward mobility in the face of significant discrimination (Reitz, 1980: 240). This description is particularly true for Asians. Virtually, the group encountered barriers in moving up the economic ladder; even though they usually had high-status jobs, their average income was lower than that of the Italians. It was obvious that, like the Jews, the Asians were occupationally segregated in certain high professional fields. In terms of social integration in this study, to some extent high-income Asians were found to be more mobile in Metro, whereas low-income Asians were voluntarily segregated in the city core.

Changes in space over time for such groups as Blacks and native Indians became hard to interpret because of data deficiency especially in 1951 and 1961. According to the only available data for Blacks in 1971

and the native Indians in 1971 and 1976, the Blacks were more segregated than the Indians in Metro. Originally, there was a proportionately larger number of Blacks residing in the west-central section of downtown Toronto, but no marked concentration or segregation in any particular area was found (Richmond, 1967b: 36).

The 1971 census information revealed that recent immigrants within the Black community attained considerable social mobility in Metro because of their high educational level and a relatively high proportion in professional jobs. However, their average income was lower than that of the Asians, implying that problems of income inequality and job opportuniy were still significantly related to ethnic background. Spatially and socially, the Blacks seemed to be easily integrated into the larger society, because they exhibited less segregated patterns and because most of them were from Commonwealth countries and English was their mother tongue.

The native Indian group had the lowest economic status but the least segregated pattern in Metro. For this group, the "ethnic category" definition appeared to be ambiguous and inappropriate by virtue of its native status and long historical oppression. The single most important reason for the group to live off-reserve was

economic necessity (Maxwell, 1979: 118-119). In the absence of property income or inherited wealth, its economic position thus depended wholly on the labour market (Stanbury, 1979: 39-40). The 1971 census information revealed that the group was closely related to lower average income, manual labour and low-paying jobs.

It was not surprising that the British and the German groups were described as "spatially indistinguishable" throughout Metro, because over time their consistent overlapping patterns conformed to the expansion of metropolitan growth. The French group usually followed closely, but the group's incomplete integration in space could also be witnessed.

The fact that most German immigrants have not been sponsored and that the extended family and kinship system played an insignificant role in the community resulted in a great tendency for the group to disperse geographically across the metropolitan area (Richmond, 1967b: 28). Historically and culturally, rapid integration and social mobility of the group were exhibited not only by the spatial integration process but also by their social status in Metro. On the average, this group was similar to the British in terms of average income and high educational attainment. The

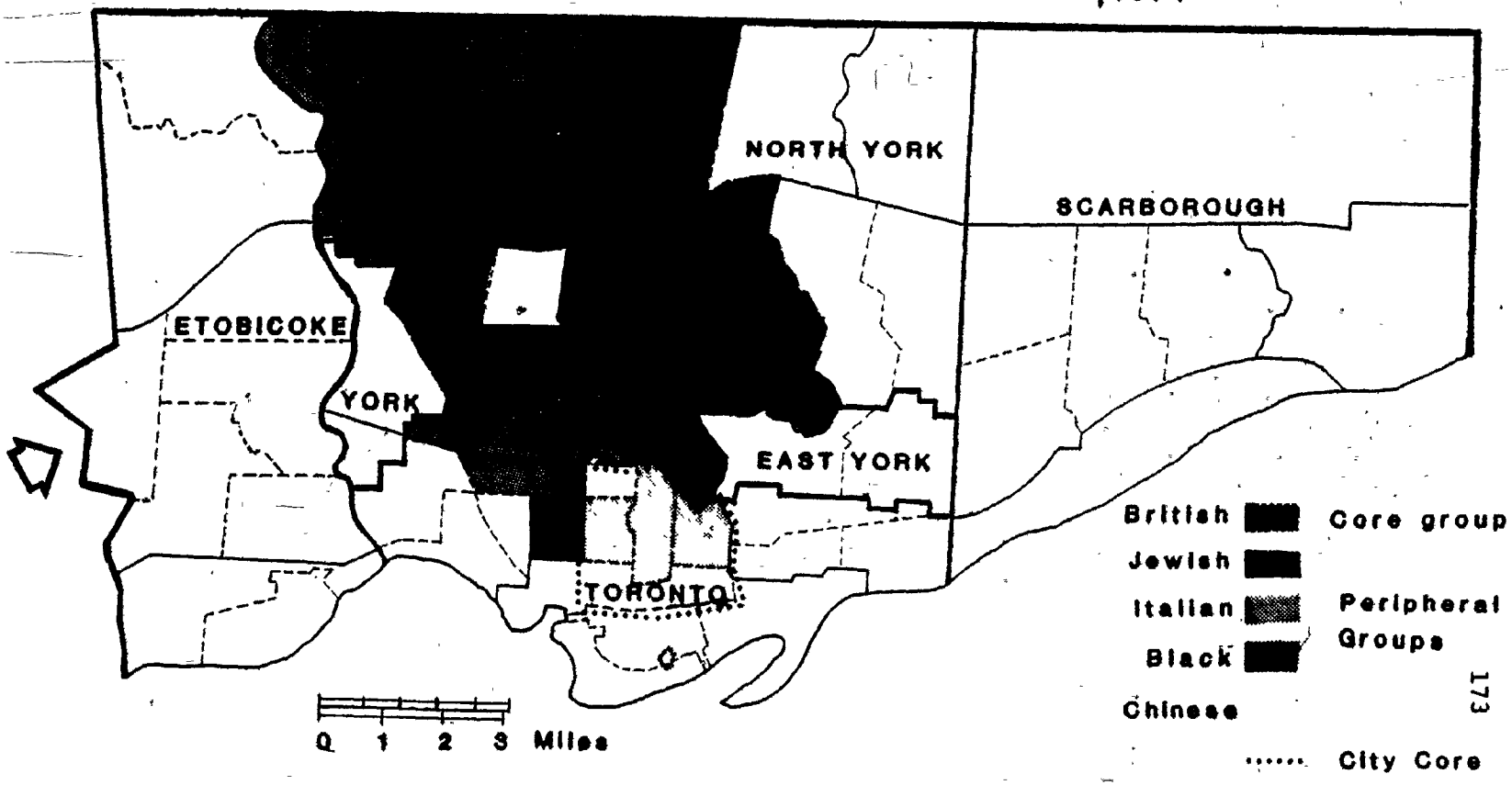
1971 census 1971 census data indicated that the group had the second highest average income after that of the Jews and over 60% of its labour force was found in white-collar occupations: there were identical proportions of German and British in professional jobs and the Germans had a closer proportion than any other group to that of the British in managerial jobs.

The French in Metro were the second most integrated group. Their social status was not as high as that of the Jews and the Germans. This group represented a very stable pattern in Metro. This might be attributable to the fact that 90% were native born and 80% were English speakers (Richmond, 1967b: 29). Economically speaking, its social status was relatively constant. In 1971, the average income of the French fell below that of the Jews, the Germans, and the British and above that of the Italians and visible minorities. The loss of the French as mother tongue and diversification in occupation meant that this invisible minority seems to have no alternative but to participate in the institutional structures of the dominant society in Metro (Maxwell, 1979: 119).

3. "CORE" AND "PERIPHERY" IN THE SPATIAL SYSTEM

The identification of the "core" and "peripheral" groups was made possible by the 1971 spatial and socioeconomic information. In the spatial system, the core groups included the British, the Germans and the French because of their "unidentifiable" geographic distributions and cultural similarities. Geographic distributions referred to their spatial integration into the majority group as a whole because both the German and French groups had no particular concentrations throughout the urban area (hence, no reference in Figure 20); cultural similarities indicated social participation because of a weaker bond of ethnic identity. Practically, the real "core" of the British was found to converge around its population centre (planning region 21), showing a concentration in planning regions 20, 22, 23 and 24. This "core" consisted of over 75% British and was the second highest average income area throughout Metro (Figure 20). The Germans and the French had more dispersed patterns, which encircled the British core, indicating their closer spatial integration. The socioeconomic differences between the Germans and the French in terms of occupational diversifications, greater access to

Figure 20 Core and Peripheral Groups in Metro, 1971



employment, education and gradual loss of their mother tongue suggested that the displacement of cultural values by the economic values prevalent in the dominant society has been a major stimulus for assimilation to the host community (Maxell, 1979: 120).

Spatial segregation from the core group generated the so-called peripheral groups. They were the Italians, the Jews, the Asians, the Blacks and the Indians. Among them, the specific "peripheral groups" referred to those with highly segregated patterns, strong group cohesion and distinctive cultural norms. The Blacks and the Indians in Metro were defined as "semi-peripheral groups" because most of them used English as their mother tongue and they were less segregated than the "peripheral groups".

The Jews were mainly concentrated in planning regions 19, 20, 43 and 44 which ran north on Bathurst Street. They had the most segregated pattern in space, manifesting their strong family ties and religious affiliation. Although they were occupationally segregated in high-status jobs, the economic integration of the group into the metropolitan system was recognized. Spatially, the Italians tended to be concentrated in almost a v-shaped area beginning from Dufferin and Dundas, widening out in North York between

Dufferin and the Humber river (Kumove, 1975: 182-183). Italians constituted the majority in planning regions 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 41 and 42. This group in Metro was well known for its extended family and its cultural distinctiveness. Even though Italians were segregated in occupation and economic status, they earned respectable incomes from low-status jobs.

Because of the aggregate character of the Asian group, the Chinese were taken as an example in Metro. The downtown planning regions 2, 3 and 4 had almost 10,000 persons of Chinese origins. The southern part of planning region 2 was the original area of settlement for Chinese people. In recent years redevelopment of the city core has brought more Chinese to planning region 4 in which the main business quarters are now located (Wong, 1980: chapter 5). The Asian aggregate showed diversity in their cultures, and language was one of the most important elements. On the whole, the group had a higher economic position than that of the Italians though both groups were economically segregated. Occupationally, Asians tended to be segregated in professional fields.

Due to the limited information for the Blacks and the Indians and their less segregated patterns in Metro, it was difficult to locate their concentration patterns.

It was found that the West Indians and the Negroes were almost clustered in the same planning region, #12, within the City itself, the largest group being concentrated in the areas immediately west of Bathurst Street (Kumove, 1975: 190-191). Economically, the Blacks had a relatively higher status than the Indians; however the group experienced segregation in occupation especially in high status jobs because of its relatively high educational attainment.

4. SUMMARY

In Metro, a relative shift of ethnic communities from the city core to the inner suburbs occurred after the 1950's. As the city grew, ethnic segregation in the suburbs emerged. Over time, consistent segregation patterns for specific groups were perpetuated, but the relatively increased dispersions of all ethnic groups could also be perceived. This phenomenon probably has two implications. Generally, it suggests that the extent of spatial segregation has decreased in response to social, economic and cultural integration into the main group. Specifically, it illustrates that middle-class ethnic groups tend to be integrated economically but to remain culturally and socially

distant. Overall, spatial segregation in Metro seems to decrease over time for all groups, but the extent of the decline varies among groups. The segregated ethnic space seemed to be maintained relatively constant with respect to both the degree of spatial segregation and social hierachical order in Metro.

Footnotes:

1. This shrinking was firstly attributed to a data source which identified this group by mother tongue rather than by ethnic orgins, but other groups did manifest consistent patterns. Subsequently, it was decided that this condensed spatial segregation actually reflected the group's increasing solidarity and persistence in space.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

1. OVERALL FINDINGS

Canada's ethnic picture differs greatly from that of the U.S. because there is no group in Canada parallel to the American Blacks. Due to regional variation and rapid urbanization, the prominence of ethnicity in urban centres deserves particular attention.

The consistent and persistent spatial segregation or integration in Metro Toronto reflects historical, ideological and socioeconomic consequences within the context of a c-p urban system. Historically, in order to maintain superior position and social control, the majority group arbitrarily assigned notable ethnic differentials (subordinate status and discriminatory policies) to indigenous and other cultural groups as well as to the succeeding immigrant groups. A vertical hierarchy has been created to legitimize the stratified system which tends continuously to promote and to sustain the c-p relationship in the present urban economy. Ideologically, according to the myth of a multicultural Toronto, the primary direction of the

integration process is towards the one Anglo-Saxon culture. To a certain extent, the c-p relations in terms of cultural and socioeconomic separation have still been preserved by less polarizing forces. Socially and economically, the one-point-in-time data indicates that ethnic inequality in both position and opportunity, especially for visible minority groups and Italians, does exist.

The findings shows that, over time, the increased dispersions in terms of the dominant group versus other ethnic groups reflect their relative responses to social, economic and cultural integration into the larger society. However, spatial segregation of specific groups is still present. The perpetuation of a vertical hierarchy in terms of economic opportunity and occupational status among groups in Metro is also evident. At the same time, relative social mobility for some groups can be observed by comparing their average incomes, education and occupational status. But most of these opportunities that enable their low-status members to move up into the middle-class position are found in their own communities. As a result, this trend to upward mobility reinforces the cohesiveness of the groups and their isolation from the main economic system.

Such a c-p relation is harmful in the long run because it may lead to greater inequalities and job segregation that will hinder their social participation and mobility opportunities in the dominant social system (Porter, 1965: 239). The injustice created by unequal opportunities for these groups may generate social discontent and unrest or other problems (Friedmann, 1969: 99).

Thus, any policy of multiculturalism must emphasize issues of social and economic equality among ethnic groups or cultural groups. It is the government's responsibility to combat all these inequalities. Perhaps, it is not impossible for Canadian cultural policy to maintain a commitment to this "ethnic mosaic" in terms of both group cohesiveness and social justice, an ideal for ethnic pluralism.

2. COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Since official statistics on visible minorities are incomplete or unavailable, the portrait of geographic space over time for groups like Blacks and Indians in Metro is limited. Six ethnic groups, excluding the Blacks and the Indians, fortunately can be compared because data on ethnic origins do exist for at least

three points in time and sometimes information concerning mother tongue and religion can be used; the results as well as the graphic presentations are consistent and satisfactory.

The one-point-in-time information from computer tapes provides an enormous data base for analyzing socioeconomic differences among ethnic groups. But owing to time constraints this study had to be restricted to certain variables like income, education and occupation. Because cross-tabulation for specific variables was not feasible, and because no classification of foreign- and native-born population was asked for, exploration of the integration process of the second generation was impossible. However, the focus on an urban mosaic at one point in time only reflects part of the social reality in the existing social urban system.

Due to the uniqueness of Toronto as a single metropolis and the specific results from this study, generalizations and comparisons seem hard to make. From this limited study it still may be concluded that Canadian society, while not a rigid caste society, is far from an ideal of equal opportunity for all minority groups. Certainly, research of consecutive changes in the city or the country or a systematic comparison of

mobility rates for minority groups in Canada must be conducted. It must be emphasized throughout the study that ethnic socioeconomic information about at least two points in time is essential. In order to examine further whether groups are perpetuated at the lower end of the social hierarchy or whether they tend to move up in the socioeconomic scale, over time comparisons are significant.

Finally, the application of the c-p concept on an urban scale and based only upon socioeconomic differences of ethnic groups merely provides a partial picture of the relationships in a city. Research pertinent to power and elite structures would further help to explain explicitly why spatial segregation is persistent and how c-p divergences can be reduced within a just society.

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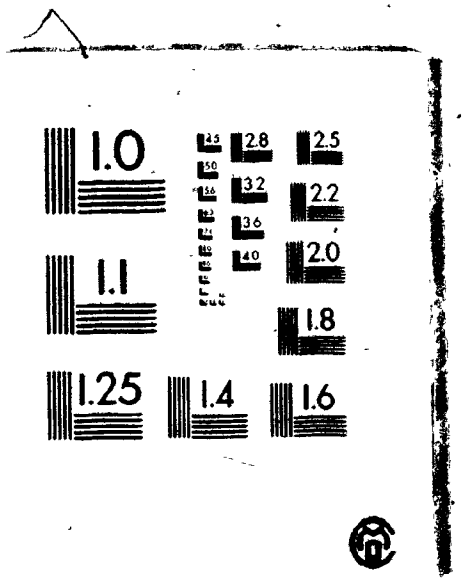

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